

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

~~DATA~~
WCM

DIVISION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

April 27. 38.

Mr Suggan:

assuming
there is no action
which this Division
should take. I have
initialed this with
"X" so it can go on
to NE and Ed.

JMM

Write
813. on F

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

DIVISION OF
APR 27 1938
THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

REB

GRAY

FROM

Rio de Janeiro

Dated April 26, 1938

Rec'd 6:28 p. m.

PAID

Secretary of State,
Washington.

94, April 26, 7 p. m.

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
APR 27 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 28 1938
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Minister of Foreign Affairs yesterday sent the following telegram to the Brazilian Embassy at Rome:

"Not desiring to grant express recognition of the annexation of Ethiopia, but understanding that we cannot continue for any great length of time to ignore the situation de facto, and desiring on the other hand to show an evidence of sympathy to the Italian Government we are going to commence addressing the Italian Ambassador here as representative of His Majesty the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia, your Embassy being instructed to proceed in an analogous manner".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs told me that as a result of the unexpectedly early action which the Department of State had taken with regard to Austria, he was left with a Minister at Vienna who had to be removed.

865D.01/463

FILED

MAY 3 - 1938

REB

2-#94, From Rio, Apr.26,7p.m.

removed. He anticipated that when that was done the Italian Government would, in view of the tacit recognition of the annexation of Austria, have brought up again the question of the recognition of Ethiopia. Therefore he attempted as quietly as possible to avoid that issue. (He had not he said expected his Ambassador at Rome to break out in the news).

CAFFERY

EMB

RGC

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 841.00 P. R./538 FOR #181

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED Apr. 11, 1938

NAME

1-1127

REGARDING:

Telegrams sent by the Emperor of Ethiopia to the King of Greece and President of Turkey protesting against the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia.

ML

865D.01/464

865D.01

6652.01
Similar telegrams were sent during the week by the Emperor of Ethiopia to the King of Greece and to the President of Turkey protesting against the recognition by their respective States of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia. The telegram, which was published in The Times, of April 10, read as follows:

"The grant of this title, ('Emperor of Ethiopia') to the Sovereign of Italy is an outrage on international engagements, such as the Covenant itself, the Briand-Kellogg Pact, and other international treaties.

The Ethiopian people are now fighting with desperate energy and increasing success for the complete liberation of its territory, and at the present time the Italian Government has not succeeded in establishing military control over even one-half of Ethiopian territory.

It is with profound sadness that I learn of the default of a friendly country like Turkey by the decision which its Government has just taken."

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.6265/13 FOR #438

FROM Italy (Biddle) DATED Apr. 14, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ope

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia by Germany on presentation of credentials by new Ambassador to "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia".

emc
✓

865D.01 / 465

465

No. 863

ROME, April 13, 1938.

Subject: New German Ambassador Von Mackensen presents
Credentials at the Quirinal.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the new German Ambassador to Italy, Herr Von Mackensen, arrived in Rome on Friday evening last, April 8th, and presented his Letters of Credence to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia" on Sunday morning, April 10th.

Contrary to what might have been expected in view of past and present press insistence on the solidarity of the Rome-Berlin axis, Herr Von Mackensen's arrival and his presentation of credentials received comparatively little publicity. The day after his arrival a few Roman newspapers published brief biographical sketches of his previous career, while such notice of his arrival

as ...

as occurred in other Roman newspapers contented itself with remarking upon the fact and stating that some few days would probably elapse before he would be received by the King. On the day after Herr Von Mackensen's presentation, the press carried for the most part pictures that are usual in such cases of the Ambassador and his suite departing for the Quirinal, while the press of to-day gives some small publicity to the fact that yesterday he deposited a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

The points of possible interest in the foregoing are the impression at first given by the Roman press that Herr Von Mackensen would not be received by the King for several days, in contrast with his almost immediate reception, and the comparative lack of interest in his arrival. The former might suggest that Herr Von Mackensen, for reasons of his own, urged an early presentation of his credentials, while the latter is noticeable in comparison with the emphasis recently given in the Roman press to the arrival of the new Envoys from The Netherlands and Belgium, already reported to the Department. It is, of course, true that the last two Envoys mentioned were the first to be received in Rome since the recognition by their respective countries of the Ethiopian conquest.

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips.

ABR/wim
701.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/369 FOR tel #55 10am

FROM Poland (Biddle) DATED Apr.25, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127

REGARDING: Recognition of Italy's Ethiopian conquest

Soviet may seize on question of -
as reason for withdrawal from
the League of Nations.

dg

865D.01/466

Y 66

765d.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.3556/10 FOR Tel. #95.2pm

FROM Brazil (Caffery) DATED Apr. 27, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia by
Argentina: Report that new Argentine Ambassador will
be accredited to King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia.

emc

865D.01/467

467



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Cairo, March 30, 1938

No. 1248.

Subject: Transmitting Memorandum of Vice Consul
Jay Walker concerning Military Conditions
in Ethiopia.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A-M/C
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1938 APR 29 PM 1 19
ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OF STATE

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

DIVISION OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MAY 17 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
APR 30 1938
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No

To the Field

IL L. S. A.

MAY 13 1938

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of an interesting and strictly confidential memorandum and its enclosures, prepared by Vice Consul Jay Walker concerning military conditions in Ethiopia, which also contains remarks on Italian Somaliland and Tanganyika.

Observations concerning the source of Mr. Walker's information were included in the Legation's strictly confidential despatch No. 1237 of March 22, 1937.

Respectfully yours,

Bert Fish

Enclosures:

Copy of Memorandum with its enclosures.

In triplicate

File No. 820

GPM.alw

865D.01/468

FILED

MAY 24 1938

Copy Transmitted by the
Commercial Office (A-M/O)

To

Rome

5/21/38

MEMORANDUM

(Strictly Confidential)

March 25, 1938.

The Chief of the British Air Intelligence Service in Egypt has just completed an air tour of inspection in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Kenya Colony. It is understood that his mission was to visit colleagues for closer cooperation, and to personally verify, as far as possible, recent reports relative to disturbed conditions in Abyssinia. He reports stops at British posts in the Sudan bordering on Abyssinia as well as those in Kenya Colony.

According to data furnished by British officials stationed along the Abyssinian border, it appears that nearly the whole of Western Abyssinia - that is, the territory which lies north, south, and west of Addis Ababa - is in serious revolt against the Italians. A few block houses have been established on the Italian side of the border near the junction between Kenya, Abyssinia, and Italian Somaliland. These are manned by a white officer and some thirty to forty colored Eritrean soldiers, primarily to stop the Abyssinians from escaping into Kenya. Otherwise, the whole Western frontier of Abyssinia is unprotected.

The British report that numerous Italian columns are engaged in a campaign to wipe out the Abyssinian armed bands in Western Abyssinia but that there are no roads in the territory over which the Italians are operating. All of these moving armed columns and their bases, especially in the Western zones, must be supplied with food, arms, and munitions by the air force. British sources indicate that the Italians now have approximately 290 military planes in Abyssinia, and eight all-weather landing fields. The present hostile activity of the Abyssinians is believed to be greater than at any time since the occupation of Addis Ababa in May 1936, and the British place great significance in the fact that even Italian posts and convoys operating near the Capital are being repeatedly attacked.

A confidential telegraphic communication from the British Consulate at Addis Ababa, received at Cairo on March 20, 1938, reports that the Italian post at Debra Markus, some sixty miles north of Addis Ababa had been cut off and that a mechanized convoy of seventeen trucks traveling between Addis Ababa and Diredawa had been destroyed by the Abyssinians. The British feel that the Italians may expect even greater difficulties when the rainy season begins about June the first, as the impracticability of convoy transport overland and by air will increase.

There is attached a rough tracing of a map loaned to the writer by the British services - on a strictly confidential basis - showing the major campaigns of the Italians in Western Abyssinia as of March 1, 1938. The black arrows with solid shafts on the map indicate approximately where the Italian columns were operating on that date while the black arrows with dotted shafts show further operations planned before the beginning of the coming rainy season. A confidential report describing the armed activities of the Italians and the Abyssinians during the month of February 1938, fills 26 report pages. According to such reports, the Abyssinians undoubtedly

have

have badly menaced the Italian lines of communication during the past few months and, in many areas, forced them to withdraw.

Partial confirmation of the present disturbances in Abyssinia by official Italian sources was noted in a press item date-lined Rome, March 20th, which appeared in the Egyptian Gazette of March 21, 1938, copy of which is attached.

The British are concerned about reports reaching them to the effect that units of mechanized German troops have reached Mogadiscio and Chisimaio in Italian Somaliland. They feel that the presence of Germans in that area may not only be to assist the Italians, but that they may be an advance guard of further German military units to be stationed at points advantageous for use in an attack on Kenya Colony or Tanganyika.

4625.01
A reflection of the current development in Tanganyika was described to the writer in a recent conversation with a Swiss business man who very recently gave up his interests there after some four years residence. He described the situation in Tanganyika as one in which the non-British and non-German residents were disposing of their interests as fast as possible and leaving the Mandate. This movement, he stated, could be accounted for by the recent heavy influx of Germans entering the Mandate through the "open door" policy and financial assistance from the German Government. The Germans, he reported, are buying up all the property available. My informer further stated that the new German arrivals openly admit they have assurance from officials in Germany that Tanganyika will be returned to Germany within two or three years.

British officials seem to be of the opinion that the Italians are facing greater difficulties with the Abyssinians than at any time during the past two years. They feel, however, that the absence of any one outstanding leader for the Abyssinians and their shortage of modern war equipment will keep the warfare in that country to scattered bands under local leaders, but that such will compel the Italians to continue a costly campaign without any immediate prospects for a colonization scheme getting under way.

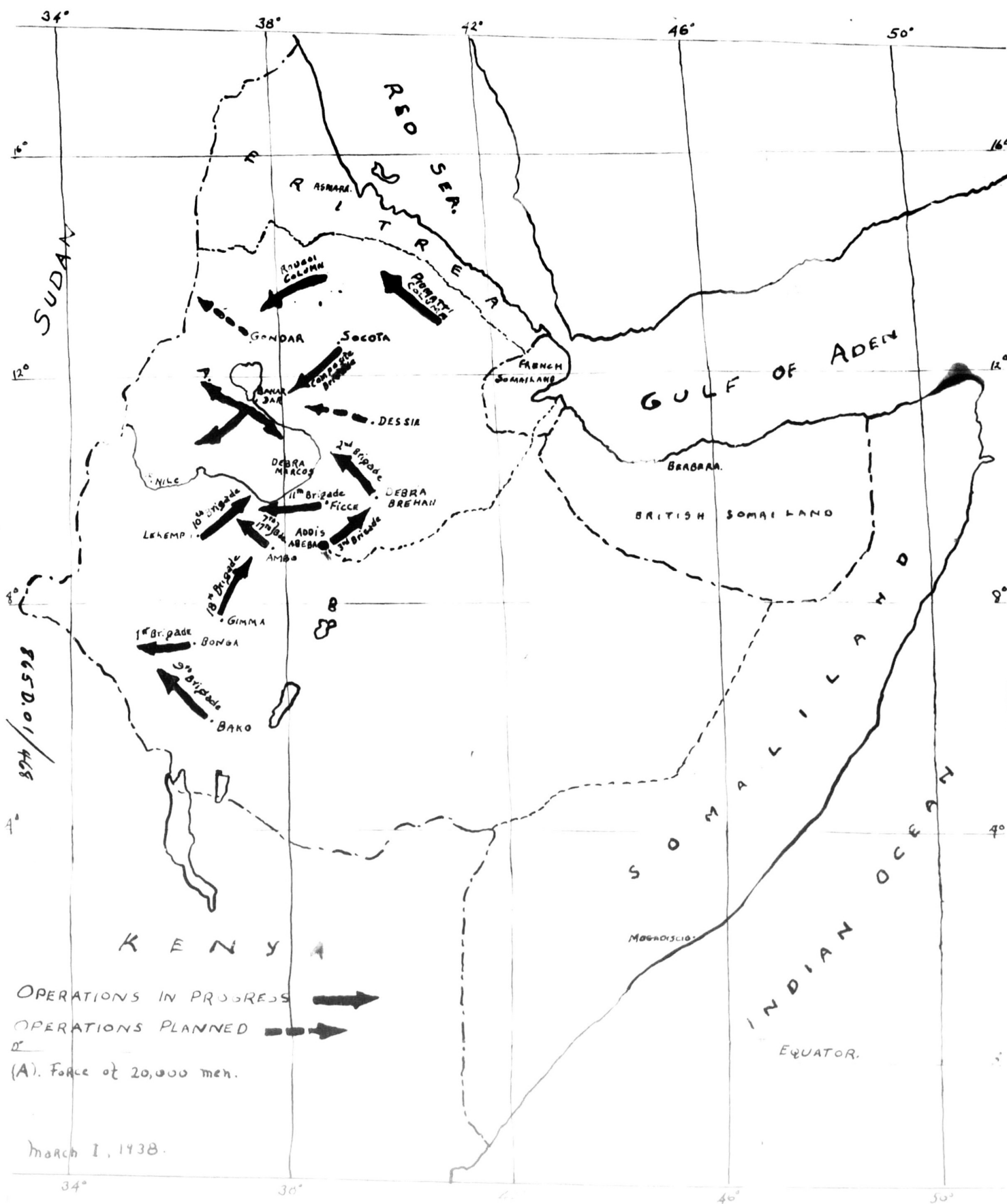
The British refuse to admit that they are helping the Abyssinians in any way, at present, from British territory bordering on that country but the mere fact that they are keeping a close watch on the situation there would appear to confirm the conclusion that, in case of an acute Anglo-Italian break, the Abyssinians would receive British armed support.

Jay Walker

Enclosures:

Map of Abyssinia.
Newspaper clipping.

Copied: alw.



Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 1248 of
March 30, 1938, from Legation, Cairo.

COPY

From Egyptian Gazette
of
March 21, 1938.

REVOLTS IN ABYSSINIA

Italian Under-Secretary's Statement

Rome, March 20.

Revolts in Abyssinia have been admitted by General Terruzzi, Under-Secretary for the Italian Africa, who speaking in the Chamber said that there is complete peace in the Harrar, Galla, and the Sidamo provinces, but cases of brigandage are reported from Amhara. "These acts have forced us to take repressive measures, he said, which will have the effect of a return to completely normal conditions. We cannot expect that populations who lived for centuries by raiding and looting will become immediately weak and docile; but the presence of our armed forces are ensuring tranquillity everywhere."

Copied: alw.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
MAY 4-1938
MR. BERLE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAY 25 1938
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
MAY 9 1938
CONSULATIONS AND RECORDS

Very interesting - 9
NE

May 3, 1938.

- A-B - Mr. Berle ✓
- A-M - Mr. Messersmith ✓
- U - Mr. Welles ✓
- S - Mr. Secretary ✓

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
MAY 4-1938
MR. WELLES

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
MAY 4 1938
MR. MESSERSMITH

SECRETARY OF STATE
MAY 9-1938
NOTED

7658.01

I think you will be interested in the attached despatch from the Legation at Cairo, with its accompanying map, transmitting a confidential memorandum prepared by Vice Consul Jay Walker concerning military conditions in Ethiopia and certain developments reported to have occurred in Italian Somaliland and the British mandated territory of Tanganyika. The information contained in Mr. Walker's memorandum is ascribed to the Chief of the British Air Intelligence Service in Egypt, who has just completed an air tour of inspection of British posts in the Sudan and in Kenya Colony bordering on Ethiopia. It fully confirms recent reports of disturbances in the latter territory and represents the most authentic data on the subject of Ethiopia which we have received in a long time.

According to this report, nearly the whole of Western Ethiopia is in serious revolt against the Italians. The present hostile activity is believed to be greater than at any time since the occupation of Addis Ababa two years ago, and the British place great significance on the fact that

FW 365D.01/468

that even those Italian posts and convoys operating near the capital are being repeatedly attacked. There seems no doubt that the Ethiopians have badly menaced the Italian lines of communication during the past few months and in many cases have forced them to be withdrawn.

As will be seen on the map, numerous Italian columns are engaged in a campaign to wipe out armed bands in the western part of the country. There are, however, no roads in this area and all supplies must be transported by air. The difficulties and expenditures of the Italians are expected to increase when the rainy season begins about June 1, but the British believe that the absence of any outstanding Ethiopian leader and the lack of modern military equipment will keep the warfare on a guerilla basis. There are thus no immediate prospects for a successful colonization scheme.

German mechanized units are reported to have reached Mogadiscio and Chisimaio in Italian Somaliland, causing concern to the British because of their proximity to Kenya and Tanganyika. A heavy influx of German nationals is reported in Tanganyika, who are buying up all available property under the "assurance" from their Government that Tanganyika will be returned to Germany within two or three years. Non-British and non-German residents are said to

be

be disposing of their interests and leaving the mandate
as rapidly as possible.


Wallace Murray

NE HSV/EG 



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

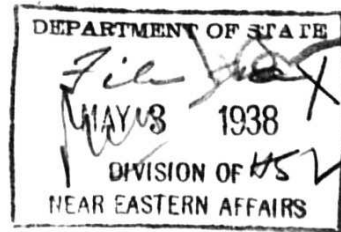
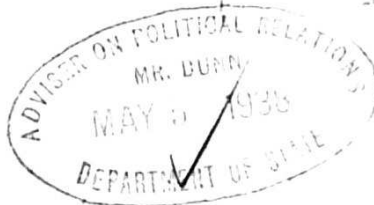
NE
PA D
A
EU

No. 595

1938 MAY 2 PM 3 32 Ankara, Turkey, April 7, 1938.

Subject: Turkey and Greece recognize Italian
Conquest of Ethiopia.

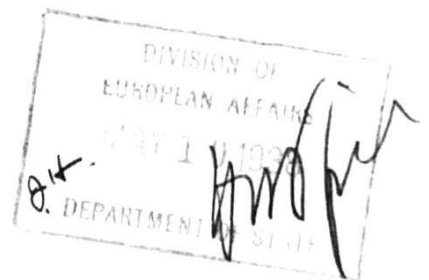
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS



FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No
To the Field ☐
IL L. S. A. ☐

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.



Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that on April 6, 1938, the semi-official Ankara daily ULUS announced that on the preceding day the Ministers of Turkey and Greece had separately informed Count Ciano that their respective Governments "considered their diplomatic representatives in Rome to be accredited to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia." According to the local press, "the Italian Government took note of these declarations with the deepest satisfaction."

865D.01/469

MAY 10 1938

FILED

For

This action by Turkey and Greece was taken in conformity with the decision of the last meeting of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente, held at Ankara, February 25-27, 1938, to the effect that Greece and Turkey should take the steps necessary to adjust their attitude in the Ethiopian question to the friendly relations which they maintain with Italy (telegram No. 9 of February 28, 6 p.m., and despatch No. 588 of March 2, 1938).

Respectfully yours,

Robert F. Kelley

Robert F. Kelley,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Copy sent to American Embassy, Rome.

Copy sent to American Legation, Athens.

710

JLB:KOS

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 841.00 P R./539 FOR Despatch #217

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED April 19, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Ethiopia. Quotes statement issued by the Ethiopian Legation in London concerning recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union concerning Ethiopia.

fp

865D.01/470

Ethiopia

Subsequent to the publication of the British note to the Secretary General of the League of Nations in connection with consideration of Ethiopia's status, the Ethiopian Legation in London issued the following statement:

"If

"If, as it appears from the interpretations which certain quarters seem to give to the letter addressed by the British Government to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, it is the intention of the British Government to request the League Council to release States from their undertaking not to recognize the Italian annexation of Ethiopia, his Majesty the Emperor will adopt every means in his power to oppose such a decision--a decision which appears so unlikely when one considers the fundamental principles of the Covenant and other international treaties, and of the resolution of the Assembly of July 4, 1936, by which members pledged themselves not to recognize any change of territory acquired by force."

The following resolution in connection with Ethiopia was adopted by the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union:

"Recalling the resolution adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations on March 11, 1932, 'that it is incumbent upon the members of the League of Nations not to recognize any situation, treaty, or agreement, which may be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or the Pact of Paris,' declares its conviction that the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia would not be consistent with the obligations of Great Britain under the Covenant, and, having regard to the recent reports from well-informed sources that the Abyssinian people are still continuing their resistance against Italian invasion and are doing so with increased success, would not even be in accordance with the present facts of the situation."

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/557 FOR #872

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Apr. 21, 1938
fp NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Provision of the Anglo-Italian agreements.
Settlement of the Spanish question a condition precedent
for the entry into force of the -, and British Government to take
steps for the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia.

ML

865D.01/471

865D.01/471

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.60c71/13 FOR #453

FROM Poland (Biddle) DATED Apr. 23, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127

REGARDING:

New Polish Ambassador will be accredited to King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia; present Ambassador will be retired shortly, thus giving Poland the desired opportunity for such appointment.

emc

865D.01/472

865D.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 511.1 C 1/140 FOR Tel #73 10 pm

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED Apr. 30, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Soviets, according to a member of the League Secretariat, have agreed to adopt a neutral attitude at next Council meeting in regard to discussion of recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

865D.01/473

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.9365 Manchuria/2 FOR #877

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Apr. 22, 1938
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

First Minister of Manchukuo, Hsu Shao Ching, to
Italy, will be accredited to King of Italy and
Emperor of Ethiopia.

emo ✓

865D.01/474

474

865D.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.51/282 Confidential File FOR Tel#694 6 p.m.

FROM France (Wilson) DATED May 3, 1938

194

NAME

1-1127

REGARDING:

Franco-British conversations - Program of extending recognition to the Italian Empire to be conducted at Geneva without difficulty. Comments by Bonnet relative to the -.

ML

865A.01

865D.01/475

4 15

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.51/284 Confidential File FOR Tel#377 9 p.m.

FROM Great Britain (Kennedy) DATED May 5, 1938

TP/

NAME

1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Foreign Office comments on the Anglo-French conversations-
Fears the recognition of Abyssinia by the League will not be
accepted.

ML

865d.01

865D.01/476

476

CONFIDENTIAL

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/523 FOR Tel. 5.6- 4pm

FROM Yugoslavia (..... Lane) DATED May 5, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING:

Recognition of Abyssinia. Position to be taken by
Ipheas, representative of Little Entente at Geneva with
regard to British proposals concerning- will be taken up at
the meeting of the Little Entente at Sinaia.

fp

865D.01/ 477 X 77

865d.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 852.00/7863 Confidential File FOR Tel. #78, 5 pm

FROM Geneva (Bodknell) DATED May 6, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Status of Abyssinia. With regard to Council discussion of -, Avenol said that he thought that the British would not press for a resolution, but would confine themselves to making a statement of which the President of the Council could take note.

ge

865D.01 / 478 X 78

Confidential File

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.7165/6 FOR #988
FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Apr. 29, 1938
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Italian conquest in Ethiopia recognized by Rumania, Manchukuo, Brazil and Finland in accrediting of new diplomatic representatives to "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia"; Irish Free State taking similar action. Comments on scant publicity now given such recognition, by Roman press.

865D.01/ 479

479

865D.01

No. 888

ROME, April 29, 1938.

Subject: Further recognition of the Ethiopian
Conquest.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to the Embassy's despatch No. 858 of April 8, 1938, concerning recognition of the Ethiopian Conquest, I have the honor to report that M. Alexander Zamfiresco, the newly arrived Rumanian Minister to Rome, presented letters accrediting him to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia" on Wednesday morning, April 27th. The newly appointed Minister from "Manchu-kuo", whose arrival in Rome was reported in the Embassy's despatch No. 877 of April 22, 1938, presented credentials similarly phrased on the same morning.

The arrival of the new Rumanian Minister received scant notice in the Roman press, as did the presentation of his credentials, while his subsequent activities such

as...

as laying a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, have been almost ignored. This comparative indifference is in noticeable contrast to the publicity previously given each successive recognition of the Ethiopian conquest, and might be taken as an indication that the Italian Government now considers the issue practically a dead one.

As reported in the Embassy's telegram No. 96 of April 25, 6 p.m., the Brazilian Ambassador, M. Duval, has called on Count Ciano to inform him that the Brazilian Government considers its Ambassador in Rome to be accredited to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia". An official communiqué published this morning states that the Chargé d'Affaires of Finland, M. Malanti, has informed the Foreign Office that his Minister is similarly accredited. Mr. MacWhite, recently appointed Envoy from the Irish Free State, arrived in Rome yesterday. The intention of the Free State Government to accredit him to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia" was reported in the Embassy's despatch No. 699 of December 16, 1937.

Respectfully yours,

ASR/wrm
801.

William Phillips.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/568 FOR Tel. #84, 5pm

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED May 10, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Probable decision of League Council to invite the Emperor of Ethiopia to appear in person and state the Abyssinian case.

hc

865D.01/480

460

EU
NE
FE

JR

GRAY

Geneva

Dated May 10, 1938

Rec'd 2:20 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

84, May 10, 5 p.m.

78

One. In the Council meeting this morning Halifax made a general statement concerning the English-Italian agreement in which he stressed its salutary effect on the relations between the two countries and its "wider significance" in relations to general peace and security. He expressed satisfaction at the reception accorded the agreement "in most countries" and referring to favorable official statements on the part of various Governments he added "the President of the United States, moreover, made a statement on the subject to the press which was peculiarly gratifying to His Majesty's Government".

1
5
6
8

The French and Belgian representatives and the Rumanian on behalf of the Little and Balkan Ententes made brief congratulatory statements. The Polish representative also welcomed the agreement saying that the method of bilateral agreements based upon an accurate appreciation of interests between the two contracting parties has once more proved its great value by contributing to the removal

of

-2- #84, May 10, 5 p.m., from Geneva.

of the danger of the crystallization of antagonistic blocs.

Litvinoff however stated that while his Government welcomed agreements which removed misunderstandings between countries bilateral agreements had to be considered not only from the standpoint of the two countries directly concerned but also as regards the effect such agreements may have on the problems which are still before the League of Nations. From this point of view he said he reserved final judgment on the importance of the English-Italian agreement.

793.94/16
Two. Koo then spoke on the situation in China stressing the barbarous conduct of the war by the Japanese including the use of poison gas. He complained that with one exception no state had taken any steps under the Assembly resolution of October 6, 1937 to extend aid to China and he appealed to the Council to implement the League's decisions in the matter by concrete measures.

The Council then adjourned, the President intimating that Koo's statement would be considered at a later meeting.

Three. I am reliably informed that Council meeting scheduled for this afternoon has been postponed because the Abyssinian delegation has not completed their case for presentation to the Council and furthermore will

probably

-3- #84, May 10, 5 p.m., from GENEVA.

probably ask the Emperor of Abyssinia to come to GENEVA immediately to present the Abyssinian case in person in the Council tomorrow. It is understood that no objection will be made to the Emperor's presenting the Abyssinian case.

8658.01

BUCKNELL

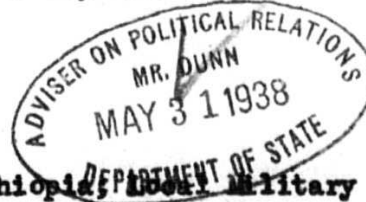
CSB



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Cairo, April 18, 1938

6075

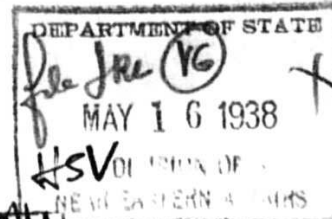
No. 1264.



Subject: Italian Position in Ethiopia; Local Military
Opinion on certain aspects of the Anglo-
Italian Agreement.

*Letter to Mr. Fish
5/23/38
H. H. S. / 1938*

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

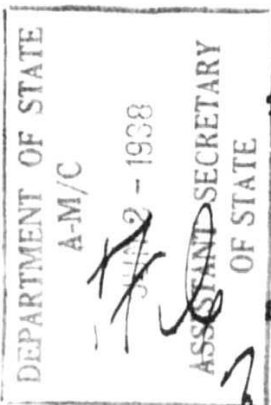


RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1938 MAY 14 AM 11 43



FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK		Yes	No
To the Field			
IL L. E. A.			

MD
Ch
JUN 3 1938



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of a memorandum prepared by Vice Consul Jay Walker with respect to the Italian military and administrative position in Ethiopia, and local British military opinion on certain aspects of the Anglo-Italian agreements signed last week, with particular reference to Libya.

Respectfully yours,

Bert Fish
Bert Fish

Enclosure as stated
In triplicate
File No. 820
GPM.alw

Copies sent to American Embassy at London, and
" " " Rome.

865D.01/481

Confidential File

JUN 10 1938

FILED

*865d.01
note
865d.20
741.65
865d.20
865d.00*

*RECEIVED
JUN 10 1938*

C O P Y

MEMORANDUM

(Strictly Confidential)

April 18, 1938.

Reference is made to my Memorandum No. 12, of March 25, 1938, quoting items taken from British Service reports and a map indicating the armed hostilities in Abyssinia during February 1938.

A similar report from the same sources for March 1938, covers twenty-four pages and indicates that certain Italian columns in Western Abyssinia gained minor successes in March and reached their scattered objectives, but no consolidated campaign was accomplished over a broad area. It appears that the "little rains" due in February and March were much below the annual fall; that the "big rains" due in June and subsequent months are expected to be heavier than usual and - according to British sources - probably will destroy some of the means of communication, and compel the Italian forces to withdraw from some of the points occupied during the past months in Western Abyssinia.

British observers believe that the Italians must plan on full military operations next Fall against the Abyssinians in order to recover lost territory.

It will be noted that the official Italian version of their operations in Abyssinia in March 1938, (published in the Egyptian Mail of April 9, 1938, date-lined Rome - a copy attached) merely refers to their activities as police operations, with limited casualties.

Published British reports (Egyptian Gazette) of April 15, 1938, and April 17, 1938 - copies attached) confirm the confidential British military reports to the effect that the situation in Abyssinia is critical.

As regards to the political situation in Abyssinia, paragraphs taken from the British confidential report for March 1938, read as follows:

865d.00
"During an interview in March, H.R.H. the Duke of Aosta was pleased to express his views very frankly. He stated that he realized that Italy had 'bitten off more than she could comfortably swallow'. She had rendered his task more difficult by pouring into the country too many undesirable Italians. He qualified his statement by a reference to the "gangster" methods adopted by the Fascisti at Addis Ababa as a result of the attempt on Marshal Graziani's life. He knew that he had in front of him a most difficult task for, in addition to his military commitments, he found the administration in a sad muddle and had some very odd people to help him. Moreover, Rome tried to hustle him.

"Reports continue to be received of the confusion and corruption which reign in the administration of Ethiopia. The Military, the Commissariat, the Civilian and the Fascist continue to quarrel amongst themselves with resultant disorganization."

The

The British are of the opinion that the Duke of Aosta is very dissatisfied with conditions and will not remain long in Abyssinia. The press announcement that Air Marshal Balbo, Governor General of Libya, will shortly visit Addis Ababa is looked upon with considerable significance by the British and they expect to know within a few days the real reason for the Air Marshal's visit to Italian East Africa.

I am confidentially informed that during the negotiations for the recently signed Anglo-Italian Agreement, the British military staff at Cairo received instructions from London to comment on those terms of the Agreement providing that Great Britain and Italy would agree to exchange information in the future relative to the distribution of their respective armed forces in the Mediterranean and Red Sea areas, as well as the reduction of Italian forces in Libya.

8650.20
741.65
It appears that the British staff here were of the impression that such signed pacts, if carried out in the proper spirit, would afford the British reasons to publicly announce should the Italians fail to report to them the details of their future developments of naval and air bases in those areas. At present, such movements are known to the British through the activities of their observers. However, information received solely from those sources may not always be given to the public. As regards the agreement to reduce the garrisons in Libya from their present strength of approximately 90,000 men to a peace-time force of 25,000 men by a withdrawal of some 1,000 men weekly, the British here realize that by such a slow process, the withdrawal of troops would take more than a year's time.

In this light, the British services at Cairo report that recently several garrisons of white troops along the coast of Libya were moved to posts inland, and that accommodations were left available for the arrival of two new army corps. The British believe that while this move is contrary to the spirit of the new agreement with Italy, it is always possible that such moves were made as threats to show what could happen in case the recent Agreement was not signed. The British do not lose sight of the fact that quarters have been erected in Libya during the past two years for some 80,000 men and although a good part of the present force there may be withdrawn as a result of the Agreement, such forces could be replaced within a few days by troop arrivals from Italy, and in a few hours in the case of air units.

Jay Walker.

Enclosures:

Three newspaper clippings.

b
(CORRECT COPY - ALW)

C O P Y

EGYPTIAN MAIL of April 9, 1938.

Police Observations in Abyssinia.

Official List of Casualties

Rome, Friday.

Seven Italian officers and six other ranks were killed in police operations in Abyssinia during March, according to an official list. In addition one officer and two non-commissioned officers died from wounds received in engagements with rebels. One soldier is missing. Five officers and 37 other ranks died from illness or accidents. - Reuter.

C O P Y

EGYPTIAN GAZETTE of April 15, 1938

No Enthusiasm in London

London, April 13.

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, writing in the News Chronicle, says that for two reasons enthusiasm for the Anglo-Italian pact appears to diminish in London as the date for initialising approaches. Neither the Italian conquest in Abyssinia nor the Italo-German conquest of Spain are anywhere near complete. My reports of a critical situation in Abyssinia are fully confirmed. Experts claim that unless Italy succeeds in subduing this resistance before the big rains in June she may never do so, since the opposition is becoming steadily better organised. The Italian levies now consist mostly of very inexperienced soldiers and there is a shortage of officers.

C O P Y

EGYPTIAN GAZETTE of April 17, 1938.

ITALIAN HOLD ON ABYSSINIA

"Precarious" says "Manchester Guardian"

London, April 15.

The Manchester Guardian Diplomatic Correspondent says the precarious nature of the Italian hold on Abyssinia is revealed by the following facts: In northern Tigre, including Tembien, Agame, Lasta and the Azebo country, there are isolated Italian garrisons only in Aksum, Adowa, Abdiaddi, Adigrat, and Makale, all of which are near the Eritrean border. These garrisons have little or no contact with one another and are supplied with food and ammunitions by the Italian Air Force. The rest of Tigre is in the hands of the Abyssinians. In the province of Begameder there is an Italian garrison at Gondar and another at Debra Tabor, while the rest of this territory is in the hands of the Abyssinians.

The Abyssinians succeeded in expelling the Italians from the province of Gojjam where the Abyssinians are now in complete control.

In the province of Wallega there are three Italian garrisons at Nekempeti, Sayo and Gore whose control is limited to a small radius, beyond which the Abyssinians are masters. In the central area of Shoa there are Italian garrisons in Addis Ababa and Ankober from where the garrison sometimes moves to Tarbaber and along the Abyssinian railway line, which is often cut off by Abyssinian raiders.

In the south, comprising Jimma, Sidamo, Borana, Bali and Woimo there are Italian garrisons at Jiran, Yirgaalema, Maga, Goba and Gini. Outside these towns there is no control whatever.

The Danakil country and the Aussa province are completely free of Italians. In the Harar province, there are the Italian garrisons of Harar and Jijiga and along the Jibutti railway line. Outside that limited area the Italians have no control over this vast region. - (Ahram S.S.).

DEPARTMENT OF STATE



DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

May 23, 1938.

June 10 1938

MEMORANDUM.

It will be recalled that a recent despatch from Cairo transmitted certain confidential information and a map taken from British sources which showed the extent of disturbances in Ethiopia and the difficulties of the Italians in coping with the problem of native resistance in various parts of the country. Further despatches on the same subject have now been received containing very interesting additional information obtained by Vice Consul Jay Walker from British Service reports, which not only confirm the previous picture but which give a more detailed description of events taking place in Ethiopian territory.

According to a British Service report for March 1938, Italian columns in Western Ethiopia gained minor successes in that month and reached their scattered objectives but no consolidated campaign was accomplished over a broad area. The "big rains" due to begin in June are expected to destroy Italian means of communication and to compel a withdrawal from some of the points occupied, so that British observers

believe

FW 865D.01/481

Confidential File

FILED

JUN 6 1938

believe full military operations must be planned in the fall in order to reconquer lost territory. The same report makes reference to the confusion and corruption which are said to reign in the administration of Ethiopia, the military, the commissariat, the civilian and the Fascist elements quarreling among themselves with resultant disorganization. A very frank interview with the Duke of Aosta, whose replacement as Governor of Italian East Africa by General Balbo has been reported, showed that he was very much dissatisfied with conditions and that he felt Italy had "bitten off more than she could comfortably swallow."

A report giving a résumé of the situation in Ethiopia as of April 7, 1938 prepared by the Chief of the British Air Intelligence Service for General Finlayson, the new officer commanding the British armed forces in Egypt, states that the disaffected area at present comprises approximately all that part of Ethiopia lying to the west of a line drawn north and south through Addis Ababa, and to the south of the River Takkaze, with the province of Amhara as the seat of insurrection. The immediate vicinity of Addis Ababa is said to be under control and the main road from the capital via Asmara to Massawa on the coast of Eritrea is open but aside from this the Italian occupation of the disturbed region is reported to be effective only in the towns, whose supply by road is precarious owing to brigandage.

brigandage and rebel attacks on motor transport columns. Many garrisons are completely cut off and are being supplied by air, while the Air Force is barely able to meet the large demands made upon it for the supply of food and ammunition and for military operations. In spite of reinforcements from Italy, there do not seem to be enough troops to deal with the disturbed area. About fourteen Italian columns, each averaging one Colonial Brigade of 3,000 troops, are said to be operating in the troubled zone.

The rebellion shows no sign of abating, as rebel leaders are learning how to conduct guerilla warfare and there have been many desertions among Italian colonial troops. Motor transport columns are regularly captured, looted and burned, and small parties have been annihilated. "The whole country is bristling with revolt," says one British report.

In addition to this dark picture of the military situation, there are further unfavorable reports from the interior. Apparently the British have had a member of their Intelligence Service in Addis Ababa, who has sent out information showing how native feeling is hardening against the invaders. The treatment by local administrators is said to include the requisitioning of food and property without payment, the shooting of prisoners and of many natives who come to surrender their arms, and the maltreatment of women. Trade restrictions imposed by the
Italians,

Italians, a shortage of currency, and native distrust of the Italian lira, have combined to bring commerce to a standstill, while the important export of hides is said to be ruined. "Fresh spokes are being everlastingly inserted in the wheels," the report adds, such as the prohibition for the natives to eat wheat and to transport "tief" (a cereal widely used for bread), which now has to be sold locally to the authorities wherever produced. The dearth of gasoline supplies is acute.

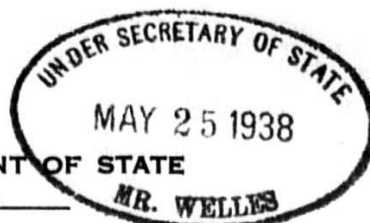
These strictly confidential but nevertheless official British Service reports contrast markedly with the statements made by the British Government at Geneva when, on May 12, the League Council took up the question of Ethiopia. It will be recalled that Emperor Haile Selassie in a communication to the Members of the Council stressed the incompleteness of the Italian occupation, in reply to which Lord Halifax said that "contrary to the contention of the Ethiopian Emperor . . . the British Government had information to the effect that the Italian Government had obtained control of virtually all the former territory of Ethiopia" and that the conquest of the country was an accomplished fact and could not be altered except by force. The British Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on April 11, in reply to a question on the present position in Ethiopia, gave the same assurances as to the effectiveness of the Italian occupation and minimized the extent of the resistance

ance

ance to Italian authority. It is exceedingly interesting to note that the British were giving these formal assurances in behalf of the Italian occupation at the very moment when they had in their possession, and were continuing to receive from their own sources, information to an exactly contrary effect.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE



6078

NE

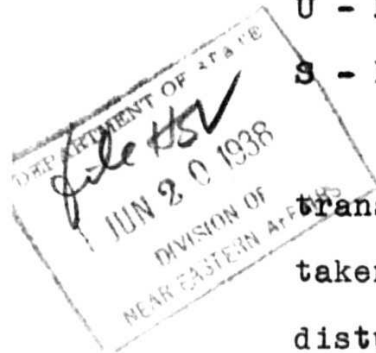
June 18 1938.

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

A-B - Mr. Berle
A-M - Mr. Messersmith
U - Mr. Welles
S - Mr. Secretary



May 23, 1938.



You will recall that a recent despatch from Cairo transmitted certain confidential information and a map taken from British sources which showed the extent of disturbances in Ethiopia and the difficulties of the Italians in coping with the problem of native resistance in various parts of the country. We have now received two further ⁴⁸¹₄₈₂ despatches on the same subject containing very interesting additional information obtained by Vice Consul Jay Walker from British Service reports, which not only confirm the previous picture but which give us a more detailed description of events taking place in Ethiopian territory.

According to a British Service report for March 1938, Italian columns in Western Ethiopia gained minor successes in that month and reached their scattered objectives but no consolidated campaign was accomplished over a broad area. The "big rains" due to begin in June are expected to destroy Italian means of communication and to compel a withdrawal from some of the points occupied, so that British observers

believe

FW 365D.01/481

Confidential File

JUN 20 1938

FILED

-2-

believe full military operations must be planned in the fall in order to reconquer lost territory. The same report makes reference to the confusion and corruption which are said to reign in the administration of Ethiopia, the military, the commissariat, the civilian and the Fascist elements quarreling among themselves with resultant disorganization. A very frank interview with the Duke of Aosta, whose replacement as Governor of Italian East Africa by General Balbo has been reported, showed that he was very much dissatisfied with conditions and that he felt Italy had "bitten off more than she could comfortably swallow".

A report giving a resumé of the situation in Ethiopia as of April 7, 1938 prepared by the Chief of the British Air Intelligence Service for General Finlayson, the new officer commanding the British armed forces in Egypt, states that the disaffected area at present comprises approximately all that part of Ethiopia lying to the west of a line drawn north and south through Addis Ababa, and to the south of the River Takkaze, with the province of Amhara as the seat of insurrection. The immediate vicinity of Addis Ababa is said to be under control and the main road from the capital via Asmara to Massawa on the coast of Eritrea is open but aside from this the Italian occupation of the disturbed region is reported to be effective only in the towns, whose supply by road is precarious owing to brigandage

-3-

brigandage and rebel attacks on motor transport columns. Many garrisons are completely cut off and are being supplied by air, while the Air Force is barely able to meet the large demands made upon it for the supply of food and ammunition and for military operations. In spite of reinforcements from Italy, there do not seem to be enough troops to deal with the disturbed area. About fourteen Italian Columns, each averaging one Colonial Brigade of 3,000 troops, are said to be operating in the trouble zone.

The rebellion shows no sign of abating, as rebel leaders are learning how to conduct guerilla warfare and there have been many desertions among Italian colonial troops. Motor transport columns are regularly captured, looted and burned, and small parties have been annihilated. "The whole country is bristling with revolt", says one British report.

In addition to this dark picture of the military situation, there are further unfavorable reports from the interior. Apparently the British have had a member of their Intelligence Service in Addis Ababa, who has sent out information showing how native feeling is hardening against the invaders. The treatment by local administrators is said to include the requisitioning of food and property without payment, the shooting of prisoners and of many natives who come to surrender their arms, and the maltreatment

of

-4-

of women. Trade restrictions imposed by the Italians, a shortage of currency, and native distrust of the Italian lira, have combined to bring commerce to a standstill, while the important export of hides is said to be ruined. "Fresh spokes are being everlastingly inserted in the wheels," the report adds, such as the prohibition for the natives to eat wheat and to transport "tief" (a cereal widely used for bread), which now has to be sold locally to the authorities wherever produced. The dearth of gasoline supplies is acute.

These strictly confidential but nevertheless official British Service reports contrast markedly with the statements made by the British Government at Geneva when, on May 12, the League Council took up the question of Ethiopia. It will be recalled that Emperor Haile Selassie in a communication to the Members of the Council stressed the incompleteness of the Italian occupation, in reply to which Lord Halifax said that "contrary to the contention of the Ethiopian Emperor ... the British Government had information to the effect that the Italian Government had obtained control of virtually all the former territory of Ethiopia" and that the conquest of the country was an accomplished fact and could not be altered except by force. The British Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on April 11, in reply to a question on the present position in Ethiopia, gave the same assurances

-5-

assurances as to the effectiveness of the Italian occupation and minimized the extent of the resistance to Italian authority. It is exceedingly interesting to note that the British were giving these formal assurances in behalf of the Italian occupation at the very moment when they had in their possession, and were continuing to receive from their own sources, information to an exactly contrary effect.


Wallace Murray

865D.01/481


NE HSV/EG 

June 10 1938.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

No. 127

To the

American Ambassador,

London.

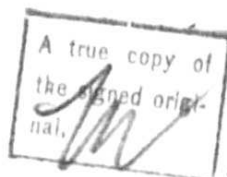
The Secretary of State refers to the Embassy's despatch no. 388 of May 25, 1938, on the subject of Ethiopia, and encloses for the information of the Embassy a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing recent despatches from the Legation at Cairo in regard to the Italian position in that territory.

Enclosure:

Memorandum dated May 23, 1938.

HSV
NE: HSV/CC

865D.01/499



865D.01/481

Confidential File

June 10 1938. ■

STRICTLYCONFIDENTIAL

To the

American Consular Officer in charge,
Aden, Arabia.

The Secretary of State encloses for the information of the Consulate a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing recent despatches from the Legation at Cairo in regard to the Italian position in Ethiopia.

Enclosure:

Memorandum dated May 23, 1938.

NE: HSV/CC

865D.01/499

865D.01/481

Confidential File

JUN 10 1938

A true copy of
the signed original

W S M

June 10 1938.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

No. 325

To the

American Ambassador,

Rome.

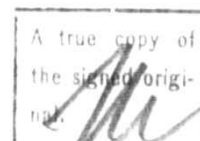
The Secretary of State encloses for the information of the Embassy a copy of a memorandum prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs summarizing recent despatches from the Legation at Cairo in regard to the Italian position in Ethiopia.

Enclosure:

Memorandum dated May 23, 1938.

HSV
NE: HSV/GC

865D.01/499



865D.01/481

Confidential File

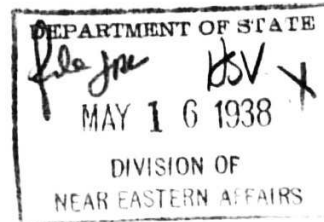


LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Cairo, April 20, 1938

No. 1268.

Subject: Revolt against Italian Rule in Ethiopia.

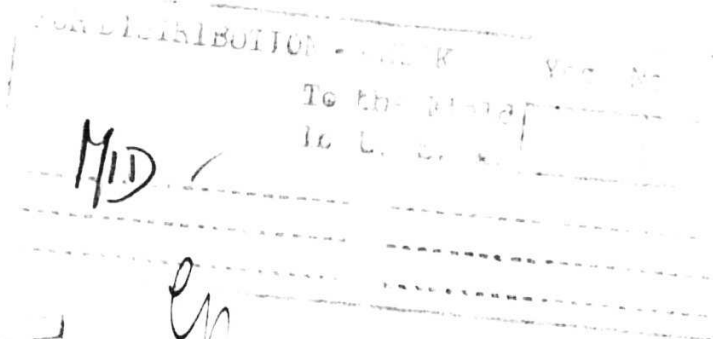
STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL



RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1938 MAY 14 AM 11 44

COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS



STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

JUN 3 1938

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a strictly confidential memorandum and its enclosures from Vice Consul Jay Walker of absorbing interest, relative to the progress of the revolt in Ethiopia against Italian rule, together with certain remarks concerning the unsatisfactory economic situation in that country.

Respectfully yours,

Bert Fish

Enclosures as stated
In triplicate
File No. 800
GPM:alw

Copies sent to Embassies at Rome and London.

865D.01/482

Confidential File

FILED

(CORRECT COPY - ALW)

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 1268 of
April 20, 1938, from Legation, Cairo.

C O P Y

MEMORANDUM

(Strictly Confidential)

April 20, 1938.

There is attached as enclosure No. 1, a copy of a report giving a resume of the situation in Abyssinia as of April 7, 1938, prepared by the Chief of the British Air Intelligence Service in Cairo for General Finlayson, the new Officer Commanding the British armed forces in Egypt.

Enclosure No. 2, is a copy of a report prepared by a member of the British services in Abyssinia giving details of general activities during March 1938.

Both the attached reports were given to the writer on a strictly confidential basis.

It is interesting, in this connection, to note that London is now apparently giving out certain portions of these confidential reports to the Press as indicated in a news item sent out by the Manchester Guardian and reprinted in the Egyptian Gazette of April 19, 1938 - copy attached as enclosure No. 3.

Jay Walker

Enclosures:

Copies of two reports.
One newspaper clipping.

SECRET

Enclosure No. I

SUMMARY OF RECENT EVENTS IN ITALIAN EAST AFRICA.(From information received up to 7th April, 1938.)

At the time of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, it is possible that a comparatively large proportion of the inhabitants hoped for better times after the advent of the Italians, and for a release from their Amhara oppressors. Events soon showed, however, that this was not to be so, and a wave of anti-Italian feeling became apparent. The treatment shown by local administrators and Italian and Colonial Troops towards the Abyssinian natives has included the requisitioning of food and property without payment, the shooting of prisoners and many of those natives who came to surrender their arms, and especially the maltreatment of women. Furthermore, trade restrictions imposed by the Italians, a general shortage of currency, and native distrust of the Italian lira, has brought trade almost to a standstill and has caused a scarcity of some foodstuffs. Many of the most important local trades, including the export of hides, are reported to have been ruined.

Up till August, 1937, small Italian columns had been engaged in mopping up various disaffected areas, receiving submissions and collecting arms. Towards the end of August, however, an organized rebellion broke out in the AMHARA Province. It was headed by AILU CHEBEDDE in the SOCOTA area, 95 miles N.E. of Lake TANA, while simultaneously, another centre of rebellion sprang up in the area south and east of Lake TANA. The former district was soon brought under control, and AILU CHEBEDDE was captured and shot after operations involving no less than seven Colonial Brigades in the two areas. The result of these operations was to disperse the rebels and to spread the area of disaffection. The repatriation of Italian troops surplus to Colonial establishment was temporarily suspended, and in October, six Battalions of Blackshirts were sent as reinforcements to East Africa. The rebellion continued to spread, and by December the GALLA-SIDAMO Province and the area north of GONDAR were involved, while a sporadic rising N.E. of ADDIS ABABA was reported. This was followed by the despatch of a further thirteen Blackshirt Battalions to the Colony.

During the same month several changes were made in the Provincial Governorships, including the relief of General PIRZIO-BIROLI by General MEZETTI as Governor of the AMHARA Province. The latter, on his arrival, considered the situation to be so bad that he issued orders to all besieged garrisons to stand fast within their gates and to avoid contact with the rebels until a relieving force could be organised. This order is believed to be still in force. During January a large force, 17,000 strong, under General MEZETTI, succeeded in extricating a column under Colonel BARBACINI, consisting of six battalions, two batteries, and a group of Cavalry Squadrons, which had completely lost the initiative at MACIT, about 50 miles south of Lake TANA. The rebels withdrew on the approach of MEZETTI's column and no engagement took place. BARBACINI's column repaired to BAHAR DAR while MEZETTI's force went to Advanced Tactical Headquarters at INASSA, from where it has continued to carry out mopping-up operations.

Meanwhile, differences of opinion as to the conduct of affairs had arisen between MUSSOLINI and Marshal GRAZIANI, then Viceroy and G.O.C. in C. in East Africa, culminating in the appointment of the Duke of Aosta as Viceroy on 21st November. GRAZIANI retained the post of G.O.C. in C., while MUSSOLINI took over the control of the Ministry for East Africa. The direction of policy in the Colony thus came more closely under the Fascist Party.

January

January and February of 1938 showed no improvement in the internal situation, though the Provinces of ERITREA, HARRAR and SOMALIA remained, and still remain, quiet. Further Blackshirt reinforcements were sent from Italy in January and February, and the total number of Blackshirt Battalions sent since the outbreak of the rebellion is now believed to be twenty-six, plus other troops, making a grand total of about 28,000. Meanwhile, five additional Colonial Brigades have been formed in East Africa, bringing the total in the Colony up to twenty-two Colonial Brigades. These reinforcements are offset by the return to Italy of 25,000 troops during the same period, of which 6,500 were sick and wounded. The repatriation of white labourers from East Africa continues and it is estimated that 26,500 have returned to Italy since September.

General CAVALLERO assumed command of the Armed Forces in East Africa on 12th January, and GRAZIANI left the Colony for Italy in February.

At present, the disaffected area comprises approximately all that part of Abyssinia lying to the west of a line drawn north and south through ADDIS ABABA, and to the south of the River TACCAZE, with the AMHARA Province as the seat of insurrection. ERITREA, HARRAR and SOMALIA Provinces are effectively occupied.

About fourteen Italian Columns of varying size and composition, but averaging about one Colonial Brigade each, (approximately 3,000 troops), are operating in the disturbed area, in addition to a number of "Bande" of irregular native troops. As Blackshirt reinforcements became available in AMHARA they are drafted to the garrison towns to release Colonial troops for active operations. The rebels are distributed over the area in forces of varying size, some numbering up to 2,000, under local leaders, and have been augmented by deserters with arms, (including M.G.'s), and ammunition, from the Colonial Forces. In some cases, it has been reported, desertions of Companies of Colonial Troops have occurred en masse, caused by discontent with living conditions and pay in arrears. The rebel morale still appears to be high, in spite of one or two serious reverses, and their methods of guerilla warfare are said to be improving. They no longer attack in mass, but avoid contact with superior forces and await the opportunity of getting the enemy at a tactical disadvantage or in inferior numbers. In this way many Italian M.T. columns have been captured, looted and burned, and small parties have been annihilated. Italian reprisals in the form of burning crops and villages, and of shooting those who submit, have further hardened local feeling against them and have swelled the rebel ranks, while would-be loyal inhabitants, in many cases, have been terrorised by the rebels into providing food, shelter and ammunition. Some rebel chiefs who might be prepared to submit are afraid to do so for fear of being shot.

The immediate vicinity of ADDIS ABABA is under control and the main road from the Capital, via ASMARA, to MASSAWA on the coast, is open. Apart from this, the Italian occupation of the disturbed region is reported only to be effective in the towns, whose supply by road is precarious owing to brigandage and rebel attacks on M.T. columns. Many garrisons, including those at DEBRA MARCOS, UOMBERA, INGIABARA and MOTA, are completely cut off and are being supplied by air. DANGHELA shared the same fate until the end of February, when it was relieved by General MEZETTI's column.

The number of Military aircraft in the Colony at present is 277, of which 93 are first class bombers and 100 are obsolescent types. It is known that the Air Force is feeling the strain, and is barely able to cope with the large demands now being made upon it for the supply of food

and

and ammunition and for military operations. These demands are likely to increase with the advent of the rains in June and the consequent deterioration of the roads.

There are indications that, in spite of the reinforcements from Italy, there are still not enough troops available to deal with the whole of the disturbed area. ADDIS ABABA and HARRAR are reported to have been denuded of their garrisons to assist in dealing with the disorders, while at least three Colonial Battalions have been drafted to AMHARA from ERITREA. The shortage of troops appears to be specially felt in the GALLA-SIDAMO Province, where the reduction of the GURRA FARDA and GOK garrisons in the far southwest, to deal with a rising in the GIMMA area, resulted in the outbreak of fighting in the former two areas. Three Italian officers and 100 Eritreans are reported to have been killed and reinforcements are being hurried back to deal with the situation.

To sum up, the rebellion shows no sign of abating at present. Communications to outlying garrisons are precarious and are, in some cases, non-existent except by air. There are indications that the Italians may attempt to obtain decisive results before the onset of the big rains in June, when transport by road is likely to be brought almost, if not entirely, to a standstill. If the rebels, however, pursue their present tactics, a decisive action before this date appears unlikely, and if it is not obtained, a recrudescence of the trouble is possible during the next dry season. In this event, it is thought that the Italians will be kept occupied to such an extent as to make it difficult, but not impossible, for them to carry out any large operations further afield.

SECRET"Addis Ababa, March 9th.

465d.62
 With regard to war compensation, you will be interested to hear that the Germans have received partial payment of their claims. Mussolini is said to have handed over a sum of two million lires to the German Consulate here for distribution amongst those Germans who sustained damages. This would give them about 20% of their claims.

No information of a precise nature is available as to what is going on in the interior. Rumour depicts the situation in the darkest colours and as the small rains are upon us, that is hardly likely to improve matters for the Italians. It is stated that the Abyssinians are being led by countrymen who have been in Kenya or the Sudan. They all have repeater rifles and machine guns. They have learned the art of camouflage and go about the country with bundles of hay or branches of trees on their backs in order to baffle aviators sent out to locate them. Unless reinforcements arrive the Italians cannot hope to pacify the country for a long time to come.

Business is deadly calm, and yet it appears that no freight space is to be had on board the ships leaving Italy for A.O.I. Merchants say that the goods often lie for five or six weeks on the quays at Genoa before finding a ship to transport them. This phenomenon is explained by the fact that difficult as trade is out here, the position is still worse in the mother country.....

March 12th.

Corvo has returned, empty-handed, needless to say, and with instructions to be as chary as possible with foreign currency. There does not seem much chance, therefore of G.M.M. getting his 17 millions, the Salines their 7 millions, the S.F.I.T. their 2½ millions, the C.F.E. their ??? or us our millions.

Rome has ordered that the traffic passing via Djibouti be reduced to a minimum. The Government and the Military have practically given up using that route, and the only client of any importance remaining, for the C.F.E. is the AGIP, the transport of benzine by road causing too many fires. It will interest you to hear that the C.A.O. at Djibouti earned only Frs. 60,000 in lighterage during the month of February, which represents the handling of about 2,000 tons, a mere bagatelle... The pro-Italian policy adopted at Djibouti has therefore not served its purpose. The Italians need more than smiles today. They must have foreign currency. But this deliberate ignoring of geographical laws is not likely to help the Italians for it will simply mean a continuance of the high cost of living and consequently heavier expenses for the Authorities.....

All export trade is at a standstill, both on account of the world situation and the absence of neggadis here. Fresh spokes are being everlastingly inserted in the wheels, such as the prohibition for the natives to eat wheat, prohibition to transport "tief" (a cereal widely cultivated throughout Abyssinia and used by the entire population for their bread), which has to be sold locally to the Authorities wherever it is produced, and lastly, the complete dearth of petrol in the town.

12th March.

12th March.

865d.113
It will interest you to hear that the firm of Montecatini is constructing an enormous factory at Akaki (just outside Addis Ababa).... for the manufacture of explosives. The building will take about six months to erect. I have no idea what the output is likely to be. Nitrocellulose will be the chief article manufactured, saltpetre and wild cotton being abundant. Sulphuric acid and dynamite will also be manufactured.

Not much news has come in concerning the situation in the interior. The local Somalis declare that not 5% of their countrymen who have been sent to Gendebret, to the north of Ambo, are likely to return. All of them have been massacred, or nearly all, though the rebels cannot be located.

On the other hand, the region around Debro Marcos is calm at the moment. The Italians have been left in peace in the town and a motorcyclist has actually been able to get there via Fiocce, crossing the Nile with his machine. The motorized columns are unable to pass, however, on account of the difficulty of the country.

The Neggadis report numerous cases of arson and heavy massacres of Abyssinians who had given themselves up to the Italians on the Shano plain, south of Debro Brehan, but the road itself is sufficiently quiet to allow passage of lorries.

Now for a rather amusing detail! The Military Authorities had received a large consignment of tyre at Massawah destined for Addis Abeba. Having no lorries at their disposal, they chartered private transport, and the drivers arrived here regularly with shortages which amounted often to a third of their load. They paid for such shortages willingly enough, stating that thefts committed whilst they slept at night were the reason thereof. The Authorities, intrigued by the regularity of these shortages and the proportions they assumed, finally discovered that the drivers systematically sold the tyres during the journey, receiving such astronomic prices for them that even when they re-imbursed the Authorities at Addis Ababa for the shortage on the basis of the invoice price they still made a fortune out of the traffic! So the Military Authorities have now to arrange that every convoy is escorted by soldiers to protect the goods, not against pillage by the Abyssinians, but by their own countrymen!!! After the "white Gouraghee" who breaks stones, we have "white robbers" who pillage the military columns.....

(N.B. The Gouraghee is the lowest class of Abyssinian upon whom falls all the roughest and the dirtiest work. The above remark is occasioned by the fact that in the streets of Addis Ababa itself today it is a common sight to see white Italians breaking stones, a task which was invariably allotted to Gouraghees when the country was under Abyssinian rule.)

March 16th

Only scanty information is available about the position in the interior. Four lorries have been burnt on the Dessier road and the drivers killed. Pillage at Ali Amba, to the north of Modjo by a detachment of rebels. This pillage was undertaken as a form of reprisals, under pretext that the local inhabitants had not put up sufficient resistance to

the

the Italians. An ambuscade five kilometres from Bishoftu, from which the Italians escaped by flight.... The residents all along the railway line live in fear of an attack on the railway.

(N.B. Bishoftu is a station on the C.F.E. about 25/30 miles from Addis Ababa. On account of a large lake in the crater of an extinct volcano, in the neighbourhood of which small game is plentiful, it had become a favourite week-end resort for the white population of Addis Ababa.)

Business is absolutely dead. The list of protested drafts is no longer published. No arrivals of goods from the interior to speak of. Discouragement and apprehension rife on account of the international situation which the local Press finds it difficult to disguise.

Addis Ababa, March 19th.

The situation remains very difficult. There is a complete dearth of Benzine in the town. It is stated that 80 lorries loaded with petrol have been held up on the Dessie road owing to lack of tyres, but it is much more likely to be a hold up by insurgent Abyssinians, for one hears more and more of trouble between Debra Brehan and Debra Sina. Furthermore, the ninth labour detachment has been massacred on the Djimmah road at about 60 kilometres from here. The number of rebels is increasing considerably between Errer and Bishoftu, and fears are harboured for the safety of the Railway.

Addis Ababa, March 23rd.

The position in the interior shows no signs of improving. Increased difficulty is experienced in maintaining traffic with Dessie. The long-awaited benzine has not yet arrived and what remains is being doled out sparingly. This controlled distribution will remain in force until the AGIP gets part of the 10,000 tons which they are supposed to have in reserve at Djibouti up here.

The troops which left five or six weeks ago in the direction of Ambo only had one passage of arms with the rebels and were able to continue their way more or less peaceably towards the Godjam. There were between ten and twelve thousand of them, including 4/5,000 Somalis. These forces are now in the neighbourhood of Debra Marcos, but the rebels, who had let them pass without showing themselves, are established in the mountains at Djarso, to the north of Ambo, and in the Abbai cutting, to the south of Debra Marcos and to the extreme north of Selalle, the Italian troops are kept in a continuous and exhausting state of alarms by daily skirmishes.

While the force mentioned above left the Ambo region, convinced that they had re-established peace and quiet, rebels coming up from the south, from the Noone mountains, attacked Ambo on Saturday evening, entered the town, massacred all and sundry and carried away with them seven Italian women. The arab shops were pillaged and the rebels left with their loot, unmolested. The troops remained in their blockhouses, fearful of meeting with the same fate as the inhabitants of the town, so the massacre took place literally under the noses of their machine guns! Over 250 white wounded have been brought to A/Ababa.

Rebel

Rebel bands continue to operate in the neighbourhood of Bishoftu. The discontent and unrest in that district have been provoked by the requisitions of grain carried out by the Authorities. Wheat must be sold, compulsorily, to the Authorities, and the native wheat, the thief, must not be taken to Addis under pain of seizure. I have seen with my own eyes, these last few days bags of wheat seized by the police.

The surprise attack on Ambo makes the possibility of one on Addis itself look less ridiculous, for it might be assumed that the garrisons of the blockhouses that surround the town would not care to leave them during the night and that the pillaging bands could work their will.....

Addis Ababa, 30th March.

My last news was that the Dessie road had been cut on both sides of the town fully ten days ago, and I mentioned the lack of benzine..... The trouble around Dessie has broken out with fresh violence. An Arab who managed to escape from the site of the battle at Waldaya declares that the Abyssinians are in possession of artillery pieces which they have managed to drag into position on the heights and which they are using against the lorries which pass along the road below. The Arab in question is wounded in many places by the overturning of the lorry upon which he was travelling. The driver was hit by a bullet and the lorry damaged; it overturned and upset its contents over the natives it was carrying. The battle is still in progress and at mid-day troops, coming from the region of Wollisso, crossed the town and proceeded in the direction of Dessie. According to the Italians, they already have about 30,000 men in the district, a number which would appear to be inadequate since they continue to send reinforcements. Waldaya has been burnt out completely. The dearth of benzine is more acutely felt than ever, for the few lorries which were able to get through between the attacks on the road did not bring much. AGIP stated yesterday that the authorities had accorded them Frs. 500,000 in order to pay for the carriage of petrol supplies drawn from the stock they have in Djibouti... which proves once more that Djibouti remains the key to Ethiopia, for it was openly announced that if petrol supplies were not forthcoming in the very near future the position of Addis Ababa would become untenable. It is painful enough as it is, for reserve supplies appear to be anything but abundant.

The trouble at Waldaya has immobilised more than 1,000 lorries bringing supplies of various goods from Massaua. Many of them are said to have been set fire to. According to the Italians, the positions held by the Abyssinians are very strong and there is little prospect of dislodging them without a considerable effort, especially as the Italians have not sufficient troops to enable them to carry out police operations.

On Sunday two or three officers of high rank who fell at Fichet were buried here. The whole country is bristling with revolt. There is trouble again at Ambo and Nonno and the insurgents of the Minjar region are pushing forward to Bishoftu. The withdrawal of troops from Wollisso will doubtless give rise to fresh trouble there, too.

Anxiety over the approach of the rainy season is manifest. The Italians have hitherto had the benefit of an exceptionally dry season, for there have been no "small rains" such as are usual early in the

year,

year, and they argue that if the Abyssinians can be so troublesome in circumstances that favour the Italians what is likely to happen when the reverse is the case?.....

The Abyssinians are burning the crops in many places, and famine is beginning to make its appearance.

Enclosure No. 3.

C O P Y

EGYPTIAN GAZETTE of April 19, 1938.

Heavy Fighting in Ethiopia

"Manchester Guardian's" Report

London, April 17.

The Manchester Guardian Diplomatic correspondent says there has been heavy fighting in Abyssinia since the beginning of February. Large contingents of Italian troops moved in the province of Gojam from Massawa and Asmara. In the middle of last month some twenty battalions of Italian European troops, as well as a great part of the Italian Air Force in Abyssinia, conducted military operations. Italian losses seem to have been heavy. Wounded are crowding Addis Ababa and other towns. Many wounded passed through the Suez Canal on their way back to Italy. - (Ahram S.S.)

May 27 1938.

Dear Mr. Minister:

365D.01/481
468
48
The recent series of confidential despatches from the Legation transmitting memoranda prepared by Vice Consul Jay Walker with respect to the Italian position in Ethiopia have been read with the greatest interest in the Department. The data contained in these memoranda, coming from sources which cannot be anything but authentic, have given us a very valuable picture of conditions in Ethiopian territory and constitute by far the most important reports on this subject which we have received from the field in many months.

7116
123 W
Mr. Walker has evidently gained access to a most useful vein of information and seems to have taken full advantage of his opportunity. I should be glad if you would express to him our appreciation of the good work he has done in this connection and of the value which we attach to these reports. I hope that circumstances will permit him to keep us supplied from time to time in the future with similar informative memoranda, which will be warmly welcomed in the Division.

Sincerely yours,

WALLACE MURRAY

MAY 26 1938
The Honorable
Bert Fish,
American Minister,
Cairo.

HSV
NE HSV/EG



1938

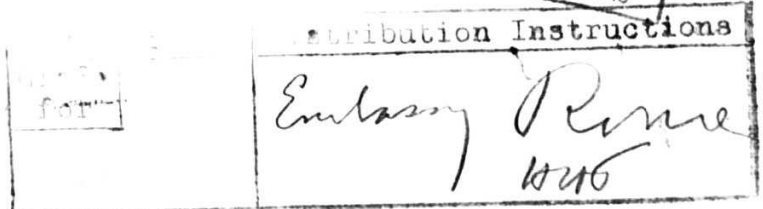
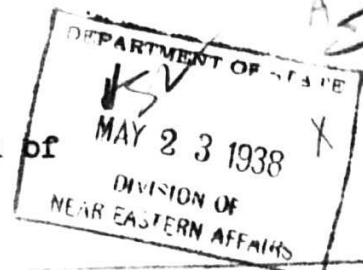
365D.01/482



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Prague, April 21, 1938.

No. 136

Subject: Czechoslovak Recognition of
the Italian Conquest of
Abyssinia.



RECEIVED
OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY OF STATE

1938 MAY 18 AM 10 19

COPIES
OF
CONDITIONS
AND
ORDERS

Commercial Office (A-M/O)
To

Rome
5/26/38
h

865D.01/483

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that on April 19th
the Czechoslovak Government, through its Minister at
Rome, Mr. Chvalkovský, informed the Italian Foreign
Minister that from that date the Czech Government
considers its representative as accredited to the
King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia.

In political circles this action has been
regarded as an astute move on the part of President
Beneš, while the press have emphasized Czechoslovakia's
desire to maintain an independent foreign policy, as
the step took place prior to the impending Franco-Italian
negotiations.

It

JUN 1 1938

FILED

It has been felt that President Beneš wished by this action to give another indication of the common front of the Little Entente, Yugoslavia and Rumania having previously accredited their representatives to the King and Emperor. The moralities of the question have been made subservient to more practical considerations.

770.00
The explanation with respect to a desire to maintain a common front appears to be upheld by a recent declaration of the three members of the Little Entente to the French Government that, at the forthcoming May 6th Conference of that group, it will be decided to follow British initiative and to support at the May 9th Council Meeting of the League, any project which will release members from the pledge not to recognize Italian rule in Abyssinia.

760.65
With the elimination of any prospect of developing an economic plan in the Danubian basin along the "Hořža Plan" lines, due to the absorption of Austria by Germany, Czechoslovakia is looking with greater favor upon Italian influence and its development in this area. Much satisfaction continues to be shown at the Anglo-Italian Accord, both in local political as well as press circles.

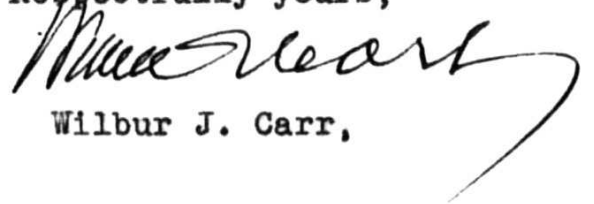
Another opportunity to make a graceful bow towards Italian favor was provided to-day as being the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Formation of Czechoslovak Legions on Italian soil.

President

President Beneš issued, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, an order of the day to be read to all branches of the armed **forces** on Sunday, April 24th. I quote herewith his concluding remarks as contained in the Order:

"Never shall we forget Italy's part in the establishment of our modern Army, her cooperation and friendship, and we always shall highly regard her vital significance in current European political affairs. Just as not only courage but also strong will-power and the belief in a better future have stood the test in time of fateful battles, we shall continue to proceed in peace the tradition and ideals for which we fought in Italy. The events of that period have justified our belief, hope and loyalty. I desire most sincerely that all these memories will be remembered, not only by every member of the Czechoslovak Army but by every Czechoslovak citizen throughout the Republic with confidence and conscience."

Respectfully yours,



Wilbur J. Carr,

VC/EJ

801

Copy to Rome.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 751.65/388 FOR tel #780 4pm

FROM France (Bullitt) DATED May 17, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127

REGARDING: Recognition of Ethiopian conquest by Italy
British to recognize King of Italy as
Emperor of Ethiopia within a week or so no
matter what might happen in the franco-
Italian negotiations.

dg

865D.01 / 484

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760d.60p/16 FOR #451

FROM Finland (Schoenfeld) DATED May 2, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Conversation with Dr. Munters, Latvian Foreign Minister concerning forthcoming meeting of Council of League of Nations and to matter of application of British Government to Council for release from certain obligations in connection with recognition of annexation of Ethiopia by Italy.

mb

865D.01/485

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE701.60m65/1..... FOR#896.....

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED May 5, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by
Lithuania.

enc ✓

865D.01/436

U 66

865D.01

No. 896

ROME, May 5, 1938.

Subject: Recognition by Lithuania of the
Ethiopian Conquest.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatches Nos. 858 and 888 of April 8th and 29th, 1938, respectively, concerning recognition of the Ethiopian conquest, and to report that the Roman press carried an official communiqué on May 2nd to the effect that the Lithuanian Minister to Italy, M. Carneekis, had informed the Foreign Office that the Lithuanian Government now considered him accredited to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia." This official communiqué was the only publicity devoted to the subject.

Respectfully yours,

ASR/wrm

William Phillips.

801.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/529 FOR Despatch #239

FROM Yugoslavia (Lane) DATED May 5, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

~~REGARDING~~: Recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia.
Report of attitude of Little Entente towards -.

hc

865D.01/487-67

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 800.20210/71 FOR Despatch #296

FROM Dominican Republic (Norweb) DATED May 12, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING:

King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia:
Italian Minister is concerned principally with securing
appointment of a Dominican Minister to Rome whose credentials
would be addressed to the - . Dominican Foreign Secretary
stated that should League of Nations recognize Italian de jure
rule in Ethiopia, the Dominican Republic as a member of the
League might feel it necessary to review its position on this
question.

M

865D.01/488

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 500.C 112/1353 FOR #249 Political

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED May 5, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 070

REGARDING:

Italian Conquest of Abyssinia.

Mr. Bova Scoppa, Italian Consul General, stated that he had the strong impression that Great Britain had definitely and finally decided to proceed with the recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 500.C 112/1346 FOR Tel 90 4pm

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED May 12, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Question of Ethiopia was considered by the Council this morning. The President (Munters) stated that the Council desired to assure the participation of delegates of the Emperor Haile Selassie "without prejudice to questions of principle and irrespective of the precise character of their full powers". The Emperor himself came to the Council table.

EU
NE

JR

GRAY

GENEVA

Dated May 12, 1938

Rec'd 2:05 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

90, May 12, 4 p.m.

1346 This morning the Council considered the question of Ethiopia. The President (Munters) stated that the Council desired to assure the participation of delegates of the Emperor Haile Selassie "without prejudice to questions of principle and irrespective of the precise character of their full powers". The Emperor himself came to the Council table.

Halifax stated the British position. He called attention to the anomalous situation arising from the fact that certain League members have recognized Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia while others have not. Before taking any action as an individual member the British Government desired a consultation between members of the League in view of the common action which they had taken under Article 16. The Assembly resolution of July 4, 1936 had been considered as closing the action of the League in that respect and he did not consider that

the

note to
865d.01

-2- #90, May 12, 4 p.m., from GENEVA.

the various steps taken by the League in the course of the dispute constituted a binding obligation to withhold recognition until a unanimous decision had been taken. In the view of his Government, League members could without disloyalty take such action when they deemed it appropriate.

He did not propose to condone the policy by which the Italian Government had acquired its present position in Ethiopia nor to modify earlier resolutions and decisions taken by the League. He expressed the hope that other members would share the opinion of his Government that each League member be held entitled to decide for itself the question of recognition in the light of its own situation and obligations.

Contrary to the contention of the Ethiopian Emperor in a communication circulated to the members of the Council the British Government had information to the effect that the Italian Government had obtained control of virtually all the former territory of Ethiopia, that there was no organized native authority and no central native administration with the slightest prospect of reconquering the country. Consequently the only means by which

-3- #90, May 12, 4 p.m., from Geneva.

which the Italian position could be challenged by League members would be by concerted military action. This he considered unthinkable.

He respected but did not share the opinion of those who believed that any action designed to facilitate recognition would impinge on principle and should therefore not be adopted. "Such anxiety arises in great part from the resolution adopted by the League in 1932 in the case of Manchukuo upon the subject of nonrecognition of the results of aggressive action. In that resolution it was agreed by all members of the League that they would not recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which was brought about by means contrary to the Covenant, and if we desire to be honest with ourselves and with our fellow members of the League we may not be afraid squarely to face the facts in the light of that expression of opinion.

Those who seek to establish a better world upon the bases of universal acknowledgment of League principles are clearly right to feel reluctant to countenance action however desirable on other grounds by which these may appear to be infringed. But when, as here, two ideals are in conflict, on the one hand the ideal of devotion

unflinching

-4- #90, May 12, 4 p.m., from Geneva.

unflinching but impractical to some high purpose, on the other the ideal of a practical victory for peace, I cannot doubt that the stronger claim is that of peace".

The indefinite maintenance of principle he said may have the effect merely of increasing international discord and friction. The conquest of Ethiopia was an accomplished fact and could not be altered except by force. In his opinion "the issue between those who would be disposed to take action by way of recognition of facts earlier and those who would take the same action later is one of political judgment and not part of the eternal and immutable moralities".

The French representative while approaching the matter from a different angle supported the British position and concluded by stating that his Government associated itself with the British Government "in expressing to the Council the desire that there should be recognition of the fact that circumstances henceforth made it possible for each state member to appreciate for itself the decisions that should be taken".

The address of the Emperor described the incompleteness of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and stressed the fact that recognition would be a recognition of might

OVER

-5- #90, May 12, 4 p.m., from Geneva.

over right. While he expected no material assistance from League members he requested that they associate themselves with no measures calculated to weaken the powers of resistance of the Ethiopian people. He asked that the British Government reconsider their proposal and that the whole matter be referred to the Assembly as the legally competent body and said that he was prepared to accept any reasonable settlement of the conflict with Italy, failing which the Ethiopian people could only resist to the last. Litvinoff defended the moral and political efficacy of the policy of nonrecognition and insisted that whatever conclusions individual states might draw from the discussion, it must be made clear that the League has not changed its opinion on the general principle of non-recognition as regards both cases of direct seizure and annexation and cases where annexation is camouflaged by the setting up of puppet national governments. The League must not legalize the failure of its members to fulfill its obligations.

The debate continues.

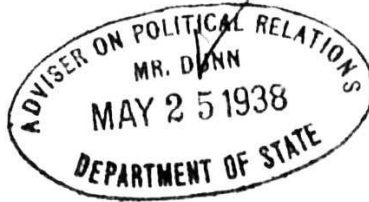
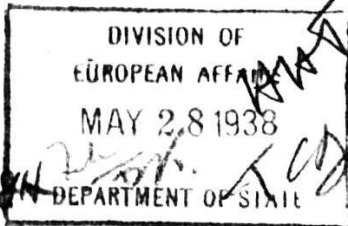
BUCKNELL

WWC:CSB



THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

✓ NE
✓ PD
✓ AD
✓ ED



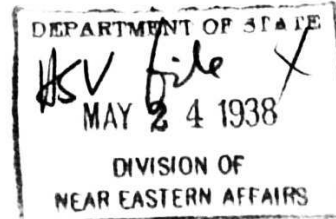
AMERICAN EMBASSY

London, May 14th, 1938.

Copy in Eu - JH

No. 320

SUBJECT: Abyssinia



RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1938 MAY 24 PM 12 51

DEPARTMENT OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK		Yes	No
To the Field			
IL U. S. A.			
M. I. D. ✓			

MAY 26 1938

[Handwritten signature]

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 205 of April 14th, 1938, and previous despatches, regarding Ethiopia, I have the honor to report that in the House of Commons on May 11th

the

865D.01/491

JUN 1 1938

FILED

the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs was asked which of the members of the League Council have given their recognition to the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, whether de facto, de jure or partially by the use of the title Emperor of Ethiopia for King Victor Emmanuel; and which members of the League, who ^{are} are members of the Council, have given such recognition. Mr. Butler replied:

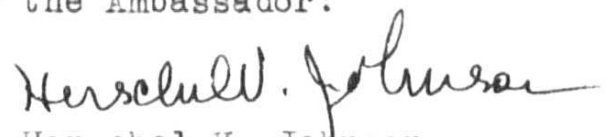
"It is not possible to give complete lists in answer to the hon. Lady's question, but, according to the information at present in possession of His Majesty's Government the following members of the League Council have accredited Ambassadors or Ministers to His Majesty the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia, namely: Rumania, Belgium, Ecuador. The following members of the League Council have taken action which involves the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia: Poland and Latvia. The following members of the League Council have recognised the Italian conquest of Ethiopia de facto: the United Kingdom, France.

"As regards the second part of the question, the following other members of the League have accredited Ambassadors or Ministers to His Majesty the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia: Albania, Czechoslovakia, Eire, Finland, Greece, Guatemala, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Panama, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Chile, Peru, Netherlands. The following members of the League have expressly recognized Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia: Hungary, Switzerland."

(Hansard cols. 1608-1609)

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:


Herschel V. Johnson
Counselor of Embassy.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.60d65/9 FOR #445

FROM Finland (Schoenfeld) DATED Apr. 29, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by Finland
proposed; comment in this regard, Finland following the
lead of certain other countries in this respect.

emc

865D.01/492

865D.01

QUINTUPPLICATE

No. 445.

Helsinki, April 29, 1938.

Subject: Proposed Recognition by Finland of Italian
Annexation of Ethiopia.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

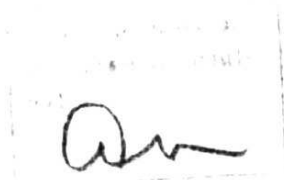
Sir:

Referring to my despatch no. 181 of December 22, 1937, reporting a conversation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding the attitude of the Finnish Government towards the recognition of the imperial title of the King of Italy assumed after the conquest of Abyssinia, I have the honor to inform the Department that the local press today publishes a telegram from Rome to the effect that the Finnish Charge d'Affaires in that capital had advised the Italian Government of the

the intention of the Finnish Government to recognize the title of the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia by accrediting the Finnish Minister, who has long been designated but never assumed the post, to the King as Emperor. The newspapers further report that, when asked as to the truth of this report, the Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs stated that he could not comment on the matter for the present.

As indicated in my despatch above cited, it has been the intention of the Finnish Government to follow the lead of the British and French Governments in this matter. It may be assumed that, in view of the forthcoming submission to the Council of the League of Nations, which is shortly to meet at Geneva, of the question of the annexation of Abyssinia by Italy, the Finnish Government, adhering to the policy mentioned, will recognize the annexation after the members of the League have been released from their obligations in this matter by the anticipated decision of the Council.

Respectfully yours,



H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld

710
HFAJ/1el
In quintuplicate to Department.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.1965/15 FOR #895

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED May 5.1938
TO NAME 1-1127 . . .

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by Panama.

emc
✓

865D.01/493

497

865D.01

No. 895

ROME, May 5, 1938.

Subject: Recognition by Panama of Ethiopian
Conquest.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatches Nos. 858 and 888 of April 8th and 29th, 1938, respectively, concerning recognition of the Ethiopian conquest, and to report that the newly accredited Minister from Panama to Italy, M. Ernesto Brin, presented his credentials to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia" on April 30th.

This occurrence was merely noted by the Roman press.

Respectfully yours,

ASR/wrm
801.

William Phillips.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.41d65/4 FOR #894

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED May 5, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 070

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by
Ireland; new Minister accredited to King of Italy
and Emperor of Ethiopia.

emc ✓

865D.01 / 494

865D.01

No. 894

ROME, May 5, 1938.

**Subject: Recognition by Irish Free State of
Ethiopian Conquest**

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatches Nos. 858 and 888 of April 8th and 29th, 1938, respectively, concerning recognition of the Ethiopian conquest, and to report that Mr. Michael MacWhite, the newly accredited Minister from the Irish Free State, presented his Letters of Credence on April 30th.

As expected, (reference the Embassy's despatch No. 699 of December 16th, 1937) Mr. MacWhite was accredited to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia". The Roman press paid little attention to the event in accordance with its present attitude

toward ...

toward successive recognitions of the Ethiopian conquest which are now being treated as perfectly normal occurrences.

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.3365/7 FOR Tel. #38 8pm

FROM Uruguay (Dawson) DATED May 19, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by
Uruguay.

emc

865D.01/495

495

865D.01

CA

Gray

MONTEVIDEO

Dated May 19, 1938

Rec'd 11:11 p.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington

38, May 19, 8 p.m.

I am informed by a Foreign Office official that the Uruguayan Government has through its Charge d'Affaires in Rome advised the Italian Government that it considers its Legation in Rome to be accredited to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia. My informant tells me informally that present Charge d'Affaires in Rome will be designated Minister.

DAWSON

RGC EMB

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

MEMORANDUM

May 26, 1938.

Mr. Duggan

Mr. Welles

The attached despatch no. 440 of May 17, 1938 from Lima reports that Peru has recognized the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. The recognition has been constructive in that the Italian Minister in Peru, in presenting his credentials on March 5, 1938, referred to "His Majesty, the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia, my August Sovereign", to which President Benavides responded by making reference to "His Majesty Victor Emanuel III, your King and Emperor". Further, on May 11, 1938, President Benavides addressed a telegram to "His Majesty King Emperor Victor Emanuel III". The Embassy further reports that "it is evident that the Government of Peru has wished to be among those who are extending recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia at this time".

RA: Sparks: GEB

JUN 11 1938

FILED

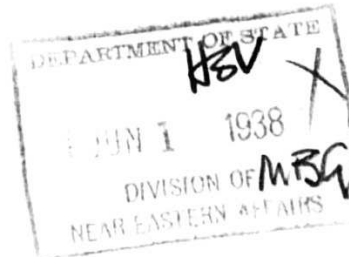


EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Lima, May 17, 1938.

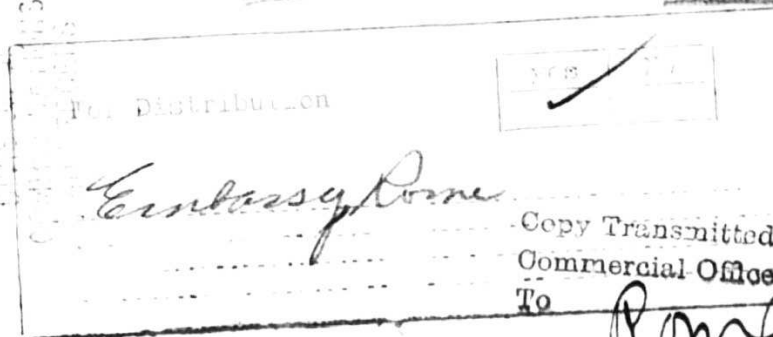
No. 440

Subject: Recognition of the King of Italy as
Emperor of Ethiopia by Peru.



RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1938 MAY 24 PM 12 30



865D.01/496

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that there has been published in the local newspapers of May 16, 1938, an exchange of telegrams between the President of Peru and the King of Italy on the occasion of the inauguration of direct radio telegraph service between Peru and Italy. The telegram sent by President Benavides is of special interest because it is addressed under date of May 11, 1938, to His Majesty, King Emperor Victor Emanuel III, Rome, and thus is taken to be one of the steps in recognition of the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia.



JUN 1 1938

FILED

701.2365
701.6523

News reports from Rome published in today's papers state that the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs has received in audience Dr. Matías Manzanilla, Peruvian Minister to Italy, and that the latter stated that the Peruvian Government considers its Minister in Rome to be accredited to the King of Italy and the Emperor of Ethiopia. The report from Rome states that this constitutes recognition of the Empire by Peru, and it adds that this recognition took effect at the time of the presentation of credentials by the new Italian Minister in Lima (on March 5, 1938). Actually, the new Italian Minister in presenting his credentials on that date, made reference in his official address to "His Majesty, the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia, my August Sovereign," and handed to President Benavides documents from "Victor Emanuel III, by the grace of God and the will of the nation, King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia." In responding to the address of the new Minister, President Benavides made reference to "His Majesty Victor Emanuel III, your King and Emperor." Doubtless it was this statement of President Benavides as well as the actual reception of the new Minister from Italy that was regarded by the Italian Government as constituting the original recognition. In any case it is evident that the Government of Peru has wished to be among those who are extending recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia at this time when it appears likely that Great Britain, France and perhaps others soon may be taking such action.

✓
Respectfully yours,

✓
Enclosures:

- 1/ Two copies of clipping from El Comercio, May 16, 1938.
- 2/ Translation.

RMdeL/eaw
File 701.

Laurence A. Steinhardt
Laurence A. Steinhardt.

Servicio radiotelegráfico directo entre el Perú e Italia

Con motivo de la reciente inauguración de un servicio radiotelegráfico directo entre el Perú e Italia, se han cambiado los siguientes mensajes:

Lima, 11 de mayo de 1938.

Su Majestad Víctor Manuel III, Rey Emperador.

Roma.

Al inaugurarse el servicio radiotelegráfico directo entre Lima y Roma, deseo que uno de los primeros mensajes que reciba Vuestra Majestad por este nuevo medio de comunicación sea el que en nombre del Perú y de su Gobierno tengo a honra dirigirle transmitiéndole los sinceros votos que formulo por la grandeza de Italia y por la ventura personal de Vuestra Majestad. Séame asimismo permitido expresarle en esta ocasión la confianza que abriego en que el servicio radiotelegráfico entre nuestros dos países servirá para estrechar los vínculos de cordial amistad que tradicionalmente los han unido.

General Oscar R. Benavides.
Presidente del Perú.

Roma, 13 de mayo de 1938.

Su Excelencia General Oscar R. Benavides, Presidente del Perú.

Lima.

Mucho le agradezco, señor Presidente, el mensaje que Vuestra Excelencia me dirige en nombre del Perú y de su Gobierno, expresando sentimientos y votos muy gratos y caros a la Nación italiana y a Mí, y cordialmente correspondo con los mejores votos por la prosperidad del pueblo peruano y la ventura personal de Vuestra Excelencia, en la certidumbre de que el nuevo medio de comunicación vendrá a reforzar aún más la sincera amistad que felizmente existe entre nuestros dos países.

Víctor Manuel.

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 440, dated May 17, 1937,
from the Embassy, Lima.

EL COMERCIO, May 16, 1938.
(Translation)

DIRECT RADIO TELEGRAPH SERVICE BETWEEN PERU AND ITALY

In connection with the recent inauguration of direct radio telegraph service between Peru and Italy the following messages have been exchanged:

Lima, May 11, 1938.

His Majesty King Emperor Victor Emanuel III, Rome.

On the occasion of the inauguration of direct radio telegraph service between Lima and Rome, I wish to send as one of the first messages which Your Majesty will receive by this new medium of communication, a message in the name of Peru and of its Government, and thus I have the honor to express sincere wishes for the prosperity of Italy and for the personal welfare of Your Majesty. Permit me also to express on this occasion the confidence which I have that the radio telegraph service between our two countries will serve to strengthen the cordial bonds of friendship which have traditionally united us.

General Oscar R. Benavides,
President of Peru.

- - - - -

Rome, May 13, 1938.

His Excellency General Oscar R. Benavides,
President of Peru. Lima.

I thank you, Mr. President, for the message which Your Excellency addressed to me in the name of Peru and of its Government, expressing gratifying sentiments for the Italian nation and myself and I cordially reciprocate those sentiments, expressing my desires for the prosperity of the Peruvian people and the personal welfare of Your Excellency, being sure that the new means of communication will lead to an even greater increase in the sincere friendship which happily exists between our two countries.

Victor Emanuel.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.60165/5 FOR #901

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED May 12, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 000

REGARDING:

Recognition of Ethiopian conquest by Estonia, the
Minister to Italy being accredited to King of Italy
and Emperor of Ethiopia.

enc

865D.01/497

865D.01

ROME, May 12, 1938.

No. 901

Subject: Recognition by Estonia of the
Ethiopian Conquest.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 888 of April 29, 1938 concerning recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, I have the honor to inform the Department that, according to an official communiqué published on May 11, 1938, the Estonian Minister to Italy informed the Foreign Office that the Estonian Government now considered him accredited to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia." No further publicity has been given to the announcement by the Italian press.

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips

701

3 :jp

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 500.C 112/1356 FOR #329

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED May 16, 1938
TO NAME 1-1157 676

REGARDING:

League Council's action of Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Reports on British press comment on the speech of Lord Halifax before the Council on May 12.

865D.01/493

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

June 4

PHA:
WSM:

Set to do

The clipping from Hansard transmitted with this despatch contains an interesting debate which took place in the British House of Commons on May 18 in regard to the military situation in Ethiopia.

In attacking the British move toward recognition, Mr. Arthur Henderson quoted detailed statements from Ethiopian sources, confirmed by press reports in British newspapers, to show that Ethiopia is in a continuous state of opposition to the invader over large areas, that the Italian troops have not occupied the country completely, that their military posts which have not been destroyed or withdrawn are on the defensive, and that the growing ascendancy of Ethiopian troops over a large part of the country is due to the fact that there has taken place coordination of plans between widely separated commands.

Replying for the Government, Mr. Butler, the Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, said that "our information generally as regards the military situation shows that, although in one or two limited areas there is resistance to Italian authority on the part of some of the inhabitants, the Italian Government are in control of virtually the whole country." Information to the contrary,

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

-2-

he said, was incorrect and out of date, whereas the Government's claim that Italy was in control of virtually the whole of Ethiopia was correct and based on up to date information. He refused to concede the granting of ^{any} international inquiry which would determine the true state of affairs.

Mr. Noel-Baker quoted two high authorities on Africa, Lord Lugard and Miss Margery Perham of Oxford, to show that the situation was critical and that the real evidence had been withheld.

Coupled with our recent reports from Cairo, this is an interesting commentary on British policy. Do you think we might send to London and Rome ^{and} a copy of our memorandum of May 23 (attached) summarizing the recent reports from Cairo ?

HSV

*I don't think it would
be a good idea since
it might elicit further
information. May*

Possibly Cde

865d.01/499

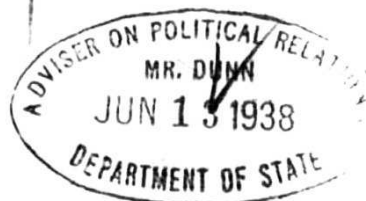
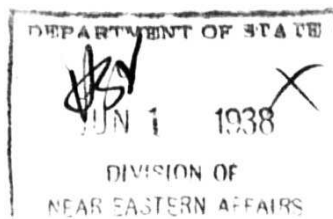


EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

LONDON, May 25, 1938.

No. 388

SUBJECT: Abyssinia

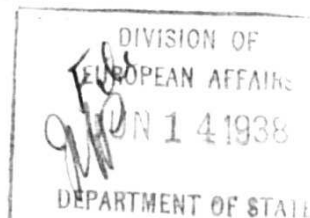


1938 JUN 1 AM 9 00

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Y-4 80

To the Yards
IL L. E. A.



865D.01/499

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 205 of April 14, 1938, and previous despatches regarding the situation in Abyssinia, I have the honor to enclose herewith a clipping from Hansard of May 18, which publishes statements made in the House of Commons by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (particularly columns 509-512). It will be noted that Mr. Butler's information generally as regards the military situation shows that, although in one or

1/

two

FILED

JUN 16 1938

865D.01/462

Inst. to London,
Rome + Aden
4/8/38
NE-NSV/PA

FO

NE

file

two limited areas there is resistance to Italian authority on the part of some of the insurgents, the Italian Government is in control of virtually the whole country.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:


Herschel V. Johnson
Counselor of Embassy

Enclosure:

1. Parliamentary Debates,
House of Commons, May 18, 1938,
cols. 502-518, in quintuplicate.

HM/WMC

somewhat similar tribunals—commissioners and so on—set up under the Road Traffic Act have no such power to award costs. Under Section 7 of the Order, the number of people who can object is limited, and one hopes, at any rate, that none of the persons or bodies indicated in Section 7 would bring frivolous objections, or that, if they did, the licensing authority would see to it that very little time, and, therefore, money, was spent in considering such objections.

With regard to the point made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Gorton (Mr. Benn) with reference to Section 30, I am not surprised that the exception caught his eye, and that he asked about it, but I think that, if he will look at Section 18, with which he will be familiar, he will see that a provision covering a penalty on summary conviction would be quite inappropriate in the case of a breach or suggested breach of the provisions of Section 18. The machinery there set out is that, if a complaint is made, unless it is otherwise disposed of or shown to have no foundation, or is completely clear and admitted, the Industrial Court is to be asked for its advice, and the licensing authority are to be guided by that advice; and if, having received that advice, they are satisfied that the conditions have been broken, they can revoke the licence. I think that that is the right procedure for this part of the Order.

Mr. Benn: Do I understand that, if the complaint is otherwise disposed of, the person who under the Order has the right to make an objection loses his status as an objector?

The Attorney-General: Anybody can raise an objection before the licensing authority that the conditions are not being complied with. The words "otherwise disposed of" are put in to meet the case where, for one reason or another, there is no doubt. For instance, the licensing authority may come to the conclusion that the complaint is purely frivolous, and that there has been no breach of the Order, and in such a case it would be quite inappropriate to compel them to take advice on a matter in regard to which there was nothing to ask advice about. Equally, if, on investigating a complaint, the breach was found to be so plain that the licensee admitted it, there again there would be nothing to ask advice about.

Mr. Benn: Then there is no penalty?

The Attorney-General: They can revoke the licence, and, surely, that is a most effective penalty.

Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved,

"That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, in pursuance of the provisions of Sub-section (3) of Section 5 of the Air Navigation Act, 1936, praying that the Air Navigation (Licensing of Public Transport) Order, 1938, be made in the terms of the draft laid before Parliament."

EVIDENCE BILL [*Lords*].

Order [16th May] for the committal of the Evidence Bill [*Lords*] to a Standing Committee read, and discharged.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Friday.—[*Mr. Spens.*]

The remaining Orders were read, and postponed.

ABYSSINIA.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—[*Captain Margesson.*]

8.13 p.m.

Mr. Arthur Henderson: I desire to raise the present position in Abyssinia. At Geneva last week, His Majesty's Government obtained freedom of action in respect of the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. They did so in circumstances which, I think it will be generally agreed, inflicted the greatest humiliation on the League since its inception. Only two countries, Russia and New Zealand, had the moral courage to remain steadfast in their adherence to the principles of the Covenant. Never was there a greater betrayal of moral and legal responsibility. But the position is made worse because of the actual situation that exists in that unhappy country. I can find no precedent for the recognition of a Government *de jure* except with the fulfilment of certain requirements. I have very carefully examined the legal authorities which govern this matter, and I find it has always been accepted that conquest or complete subjugation implies the permanent subjection of the occupied

[Mr. Henderson.]

country to the sovereignty of the occupying force. At the Hague Conference of 1907, it was agreed that territory should only be considered occupied which is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army. Occupation, therefore, applies only to territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised. I submit that these requirements have not been fulfilled in the case of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia.

What are facts? I think that, in order to present a clear picture summarising the state of affairs in Abyssinia, it will be convenient to deal with the country according to its various provinces. I have here information which has been supplied to His Majesty's Government, first, in a document published under the authority of the Emperor of Ethiopia, and, secondly, in documents supplied by the League representative of the Ethiopian Government at the recent Council meeting of the League. According to these documents, the position would appear to be as follows: First of all, in the north and north-west provinces of Abyssinia, during last autumn and throughout recent months there appears to have been energetic opposition to the Italian operations, which opposition has sometimes developed into fighting on a considerable scale. There have been revolts in the provinces of Tembien and Sokota under Dejaz Hailu Kabbade, one of the leaders, and further to the north-east, in Tigre, under the chieftain, Dejazmatch Gabe Hewot. In other provinces, Begumeder and Lasta, there has been almost continuous fighting, resulting in the destruction of Italian posts and the capture of supply columns. The Ethiopian Legation in London published on 25th January this year a statement based on despatches received from the various chieftains in Abyssinia. I will quote:

"Flying and mechanised columns of the Italian Army have tried to recapture posts evacuated or lost some months ago. Despite the ceaseless activity of the Italian Air Force, which continues to make use of bombs and gas, these attempts have never had more than ephemeral success. The desertion of three battalions of Eritrean troops has reinforced the resisting troops in the Northern regions with arms and ammunition, and has completed the disorder of the Italian staff officers who 'manifest evident signs of despair.'"

Then follows a list of the losses sustained by the invading Italian Forces.

It shows that in the northern and north-western regions those killed included 11 senior officers, five junior officers—of whom one was a lieutenant and the remaining four junior officers of the transport and radio department, together with 5,993 Italian and Askari soldiers. It says that the number of Ethiopian warriors killed during these engagements was equally large. A considerable number of rifles, field artillery, machine guns, and ammunition were captured from the enemy. I pass to the western provinces, where severe fighting apparently has been taking place.

Here I quote from the document submitted to the League Council last week by M. Tazaz, the permanent delegate of Ethiopia at Geneva. He exhibited in the documents he presented to the League Council a report from one of the Abyssinian chieftains to the Emperor. This sets out full particulars, gives the dates and places of the battles, the number of Italian casualties, and the amount of material captured from the Italians. Here are the particulars: August, 1937, at Sécoula, three Italian officers, 300 Italian soldiers and 400 native soldiers were killed, and the material captured consisted of two cannon, 218 rifles, three machine guns. September, 1937, at Danguela, two Italian officers, 228 Italian soldiers and 300 native soldiers killed. October, 1937, at Adiet, two officers, 140 Italian soldiers and 1,200 native soldiers killed; material captured: three cannon, 1,136 rifles, seven machine guns. Later in November, 1937, at Goumaré, three Italian officers, 17 Italian soldiers and 117 native soldiers killed, five cannon, 717 rifles and eight machine guns captured. The latest engagement apparently took place at Womers, in November, 1937, where two Italian officers, 58 Italian soldiers, and 428 native soldiers were killed, while the material captured consisted of one cannon, 146 rifles, and three machine guns. That is a report received from this Abyssinian general and sent to the Emperor of Abyssinia on 12th February this year.

In the centre of Abyssinia, it is alleged that there have been revolts, under Dejaz Fikre Mariam, in which the railway to Jibuti itself has been frequently attacked. Ethiopian armed troops are frequently raiding the main roads leading from Addis

Ababa to the north and west. Early in March, Italian troops were sent to guard the road from Dessie to Addis Ababa, which has been frequently harassed by Abyssinians. In the south and south-west there are Italian garrisons only at five towns: namely, Djirem, Yirga-Alem, Mega, Goba and Ginir. All other parts of the territory have had to be evacuated owing to the pressure of numerous guerilla bands. In the provinces of Gurafarda, Gimirra and Kaffa many Italian garrisons have been forced to withdraw, and the roads have been made unsafe. In the south-east, it is reported that in recent months there have been numerous attacks on Italian convoys on the roads by armed Abyssinians. Between Harar and Jigjiga more than 9,000 native troops have deserted from the Italian army with arms. It is alleged that the Italians exercise no control whatever over the provinces of Danakil and Aussa.

The general position in Abyssinia will be appreciated better, I think, if it is realised that over at least three-quarters of the country the Italian authorities have no military control beyond an area varying from 10 to 30 miles radius around the larger towns. In fact, over at least half of the country there is no military control, the military posts only maintaining their distance through military fortifications and the troops unable to penetrate the hilly and mountainous regions. Throughout the north, south, and south-west the greater part of the country is still under the authority of Ethiopian chieftains.

Therefore, it follows; first, that the country is in a continuous state of opposition to the invader over large areas; secondly, that the Italian troops have not occupied the country completely; thirdly, that their military posts which have not been destroyed or withdrawn are in many cases on the defensive; fourthly, that the growing ascendancy of the Ethiopian troops over a large part of the country is due to the fact that there has taken place co-ordination of plans between widely separated commands. These facts are contained in statements submitted to the League by the Emperor and his advisers, but we can find corroboration to some extent in publications which, I think, would merit the confidence even of hon. Members opposite. Leading newspapers of this country like the "Times," the

"Sunday Times" and the "Daily Telegraph" have repeatedly reported facts which seem to corroborate the claims of the Emperor of Ethiopia. I find that in the "Times" of 26th November, 1937, it states:

"The improvement in the internal situation that was expected after the rains is still far from apparent."

It is expected that the usual rainy season will commence in the next week or so, and that may to some extent explain why the Italian Government are so anxious to hasten the recognition of their so-called conquest of Ethiopia before it becomes only too obvious that it is not justified. The "Times" goes on to say:

"The roads leading from Addis Ababa to Jimma and Gore have both been cut recently within 50 miles of the capital, with the result that transport has to proceed under convoy

So far as can be judged, the economic position is moving from bad to worse The resistance of the native inhabitants in passive forms seems to be working as a factor of attrition."

The "Sunday Times," 30th January, 1938, refers to the fact that:

"There have been serious economic difficulties facing the Italians in Abyssinia showing that trade is virtually at a standstill."

The "Daily Telegraph" of 2nd February, 1938, says that:

"the Italian occupation is firmly established in Addis Ababa and within some 50 miles radius round that city, and in cities such as Harar and Dire-dawa, but in the greater part of these regions, where the lack of roads makes the quick movement of troops impossible, the native chieftains still hold sway. It is estimated that only about one-third of the arms they possessed at the close of the war against the Italians have been surrendered to their conquerors."

The "Evening News" of 14th February, 1938, states:

"According to a report from a very reliable source large numbers of troops, mostly native forces, left Addis Ababa recently to suppress a serious revolt."

Six weeks ago the Abyssinian Legation stated that it had received reports of apparent opposition to Italian rule in Abyssinia. In the past two months, according to these reports, the Italians have lost 6,000 officers and men killed, including natives. This claim was immediately denied in Rome, where it was officially stated:

"Italy is in complete control of every part of Abyssinia."

[Mr. Henderson.]

The following day the official Italian newspaper admitted that severe fighting had occurred in Abyssinia last September. I could continue to quote from other leading newspapers evidence supporting the claims of the Emperor of Ethiopia that, at the present time, the Italian Government are not in complete possession and control of the territory of Abyssinia, and that, on the contrary, their effective control is restricted to certain of the large cities and a certain radius from those cities, that large parts of the country are under the control of Abyssinian chieftains, and that large armed forces under their command are engaged in carrying on intensive warfare against the Italian military and armed forces. If that be so, how can it be argued that, under all prevailing concepts of international law, the Italian Government are entitled to be recognised as the *de jure* Government of that country?

If the Government say that they are not prepared to accept the allegations that have been put forward by the Abyssinian Government, is it not all the more reason why some sort of inquiry should be held in order to ascertain the true facts of the case? The Government, for reasons of their own, refuse to support the suggestion that an inquiry should be held. They have not, at any rate up to date, refuted the case put forward by the Ethiopian Emperor. Therefore, we are entitled to ask the Minister to-day to prove to the satisfaction of all sections of opinion that there is no truth and no substance in the allegations and the claims put forward by the Emperor of Ethiopia, and that, in fact, there is conclusive proof that the Italian Government are in complete control of the whole of Abyssinia. Unless he can do that, we on this side of the House are entitled to resist with all the means at our disposal, what is nothing short of the gross betrayal of another country belonging to the League of Nations.

8.31 p.m.

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Butler): I noticed that the hon. Gentleman opened his speech with a general remark about the recent activities of my Noble Friend at Geneva. He will excuse me, I am sure, if I do not enlarge my remarks to-night and enter into the broader considerations

with which he opened his speech, but confine myself to saying that I cannot accept the interpretation which he ascribed to the action of His Majesty's Government and to the activities of my Noble Friend. The reason why I will not go further into that subject to-night is that the Opposition are again raising a subject equivalent to this to-morrow night, namely, the recent session of the Council at Geneva and the steps taken there by His Majesty's Government. I quite appreciate the point that has been put to-night, and I will confine myself to the question of Italian control of Ethiopia. I think that that will be accepted by the hon. Member.

There are two aspects of the information which the hon. Gentleman has given to the House, which I would like to bring to the attention of hon. Members. The information given—and he has read part of that information from certain documents—has been drawn from documents which must be acknowledged to come from a prejudiced source. I do not want to impart any bitterness into what I am going to say, but it is important to be quite clear that a large amount of the information given by the hon. Gentleman has simply been passed on by him to the House from the Ethiopian Legation, and, therefore, we must look at it as being information of an interested kind, and attach all the more importance to the source from which it comes. The second aspect of his information to which I want to draw the attention of hon. Members is the fact that our reports go to show that his information is not up to date.

The hon. Gentleman devoted considerable time to extracts from a document issued by the Ethiopian Legation on the subject of hostilities which took place in Ethiopia, and he made the contention that there was fighting of a severe character in Ethiopia last September. I do not deny that there has been fighting, but I would point out that we are now considering the position in Ethiopia in this month of this year, and that much of the information which he has given to the House comes from a date last year, when we do not deny that fighting took place. I do not mean by saying this that I accept the details which the hon. Gentleman has given to the House as being correct. I do not. I want, therefore, to draw the attention of the House to the

important fact that this information, incorrect as we believe it to be, is derived from a somewhat distant date, whereas the information which I have put before hon. Members is, we consider, up to date.

Mr. A. Henderson: The Under-Secretary will remember that I quoted the date on the document which related to the fighting in Abyssinia, which was submitted, and it is dated February, 1938.

Mr. Butler: The document is dated February, 1938, but our information goes to show that the information in that document is not up to date. That further emphasises the point that I was making.

I will now try to deal with the situation in general, and afterwards with some of the points which have been raised by the hon. Member. Our information generally as regards the military situation shows that, although in one or two limited areas there is resistance to Italian authority on the part of some of the inhabitants, the Italian Government are in control of virtually the whole country, and that in present circumstances, as has already been said by spokesmen of His Majesty's Government, that control could only be upset by a successful war, which it would be beyond the power of the natives of Ethiopia to achieve, and which I do not think any foreign Power would be ready to undertake.

Early in the year and at the end of last year the Italians, so we are informed, experienced considerable difficulties in areas to the North, West and South-West of Addis Ababa but, since the arrival of 20 battalions of Blackshirt militia, pacification has proceeded and no serious trouble is now being experienced except in the mountains of the Gojjam province, which is an area to which the hon. Gentleman drew attention and which, I ought to say, was always a sector of disaffection. He will perhaps remember that the Emperor himself was obliged to detach troops from the main theatre of the war to deal with disloyal tribes in this area. Two other tribes to which the hon. Member has drawn attention which have caused the Italians trouble—the Azebu Golles and the Danakils—were frequently troublesome to the Emperor, but as a result of the introduction of the 20 battalions of Blackshirt militia, and of certain Italian

air action, such tribal bands are becoming unwelcome in those districts, because their presence draws undesirable attention to the neighbourhood. If such bands go to a neighbourhood, their presence is not welcomed by the local inhabitants. With these exceptions in the mountainous area of the Gojjam province, which has always given trouble, and which is an extremely difficult and untractable region, and the particular tribal areas that I have mentioned, owing to the Italian reinforcements and the Italian air action, I maintain that our claims that Italy is in control of virtually the whole of Abyssinia is correct.

Mr. Noel-Baker: Can the Under-Secretary say where the information comes from that the rebel bands are unwelcome?

Mr. Butler: We get our information from a variety of sources in Abyssinia, but mostly from our Consuls. I have been asked by the hon. Member to make a statement and I am giving a statement of fact, based on the information in the possession of His Majesty's Government, as clearly as I can. I have given all the details as well as the only exception, so far as we can ascertain, to a complete Italian occupation.

Sir Stafford Cripps: Will the Minister be good enough to tell us whether the Consuls get their information from Italian sources?

Mr. Butler: The Consuls get their information from a variety of sources, and they get it also through their own investigations. Consuls have made journeys in various districts of Abyssinia and have gleaned information from their own observations. It has been said in public propaganda on this subject that the Italians are only present in garrisons occupying fortified posts. That is true in the main, but there is no reason to deduce from the fact that, because the Italians are garrisoning the country in fortified posts, they are not in complete control of the country. There is really no practicable alternative method of occupying a backward and potentially hostile country. Over great areas climatic conditions render complete occupation difficult from a military point of view, and the most economical method of disposing troops is to establish garrisons of some size in strongly fortified posts whence, if

[Mr. Butler.]

necessary, troops may be moved to deal with any outbreaks of disaffection.

The hon. Member referred to the fact that the railway had been attacked. There is a phrase in the memorandum which we have seen that the railway and the Massawa-Addis Ababa road had been frequently attacked. We have no corroboration of the statement that this railway has been attacked to the extent of dislocating traffic since a date in 1936. The main road between Massawa and Addis Ababa has in recent months only suffered one serious interruption, when 25 lorries, laden with petrol, were destroyed in March. Therefore, I think the claim of the hon. Member in respect of these particular communications is, like the rest of his material, exaggerated. That, I think, answers in general the points raised by the hon. Member.

I could deal with other points in the memoranda to which the hon. Member has referred. I could develop some of the economic points, the point of criticism, for instance, which has been made in the memorandum published by the League of Nations Union about the economic situation. I would say that there are many points in this regard that are exaggerated, just in the same way as the military information in the hon. Member's possession is, to our way of thinking, much exaggerated. It has been said that the Abyssinians would not do road work, but our information, which has been obtained from our Consul, is that the payment to the natives is now regarded as satisfactory, having been fixed by the Fascist organisation at a reasonable level.

Mr. A. V. Alexander: How much?

Mr. Butler: I cannot at the moment give the exact details, but that is the information that has been given to us. Roadmaking, hon. Members will recollect, did much to develop Morocco and made such a difference in the ability of the Foreign Legion to help France to pacify Morocco, and a roadmaking policy is being carried out in Abyssinia. The making of roads is going ahead much more than has been the case in the past, and on a much more satisfactory basis. That is one further example of the information in our possession, which justifies the statements that we have made in this House.

The hon. Member, in summing up his information, read from the Ethiopian document a statement that three-fourths of the country were outside the control of the Italians. I would ask hon. Members whether after listening to the facts that I have put before them they can honestly say that that statement is true, or whether it is not truer to say that the Italian Government are in control of virtually the whole country. That is the conclusion we have come to after studying up-to-date information, not from prejudiced sources but from observations on the spot. That is the information which I give to the House in the confident assertion that hon. Members will prefer facts from such sources to information which must have come from the sources which I earlier described. In conclusion I should not do justice to the hon. Member if I did not repeat that, in view of the information in our possession, we are not willing to concede the granting of an inquiry of an international character, and thereby confirm the answer I gave him on that subject at Question Time.

8.46 p.m.

Mr. Noel-Baker: I am sure the House is grateful to the Under-Secretary for the statement he has made. He will forgive me if I say that the spirit of his speech was indicated by his use of the word "pacification." The value of his information depends upon his credulity, and his credulity can be measured by the fact that he tells us that the Fascist Government have established a reasonable rate of wages for the Abyssinians, but he does not know what that rate of wages is.

Mr. Butler: The hon. Member knows that for various reasons I have had rather short notice. I have given the House up-to-date information on the subject, and needless to say I could have obtained more detailed information if I had had more time. I think the hon. Member would be wiser to restrict himself to the general subject and not make points such as that I am not informed on any particular point.

Mr. Noel-Baker: I do not wish to be unfair to the hon. Member, and I agree that he has been given rather short notice. We shall put down a question on the rate of wages paid by the Fascist Government, and we shall then discover whether they are reasonable or not. His Majesty's

Government have assumed in their policy, beginning some months ago, that the war in Abyssinia was over when sanctions were raised; and the picture which the Under-Secretary of State has painted to-night is, broadly speaking, that of a Government which has undisputed sovereignty of the country with a smoothly working administration. In spite of what he has told us, I assert that nothing of the kind is true. The true situation is that Signor Mussolini, in his third year of his Covenant-breaking war, has had a more costly campaign than ever before, and that he is no nearer conquest than when sanctions were taken off.

The Under-Secretary of State has said that the information given by my hon. Friend was from Ethiopian sources, that Ethiopian sources were interested sources and that, therefore, presumably the information was unreliable. He said further that it was out of date. I submit that the Ethiopians are extremely likely to know the true facts about their own country, more likely than other people; and that they have no real interest to disguise the facts. If the country is really conquered, if the people want to accept the Italians as their rulers, why does not the Emperor accept the large sum of money which the Italian Government have offered him and allow the whole question to be ended? He does not, because he knows that the country is not conquered. I want to submit, in addition to the evidence given by my hon. Friend, certain supplementary information which comes not from Ethiopian sources but from British sources and newspapers, and, moreover, information which is up to date. I admit that it is not in agreement with the information which His Majesty's Government have received. But I am not greatly impressed that it is not in agreement with what the Under-Secretary of State has told us.

In 1937 the Government used to say, day after day that all that we learned about Spain was untrue. We relied on British journalists, who reported what was happening in the Press. We were told that their information was not true. But on the 21st February, 1938, the late Foreign Secretary told us that it was true, that the journalists had been right and the Government wrong. I suggest

that the journalists are right now. The Italian Government have made it much more difficult to obtain information about Abyssinia than it was about Spain. His Majesty's Government had some 56 diplomatic and consular agents in Spain; they have only two consular posts in Abyssinia, and the Consuls cannot find it very easy to travel. I suggest that the information which comes from the sources I shall cite is true, in this case, as it was in the case of Spain. I begin with an article in the "Times," which I admit is a little out of date, for it was published on 8th October, 1937. There was a sentence in that article which my hon. Friend did not quote:

"With the exception of the bigger towns and the provinces where the means of communication are such that military aid can be secured quickly in case of emergency, Abyssinia is governed by Abyssinian chieftains who carry on a guerilla warfare against the Italians, harrassing them at every opportunity."

The correspondent gives details of particular actions and says that the Abyssinian population have almost entirely abandoned their lands and that agriculture is a thing of the past. They are engaged in war. That article was printed on the very day on which there appeared a letter in the "Times" from one of Signor Mussolini's agents saying that order was perfect in the country, and I believe that the "Times" article was a direct reply to that letter. But I come now to evidence which is a little more up to date. On the 16th February this year, five days before the Prime Minister began his negotiations with Signor Mussolini, and when he was already in constant personal contact with Signor Grandi, the "Daily Telegraph" printed a report from their Aden correspondent in which he said:

"It is learned here that a detachment of 500 Italians was annihilated recently as a result of a ruse by Abyssinian tribesmen in the Minjar country. Serious revolts have broken out in Gojjam, north-west of Addis-Ababa, and in the extreme south. It is now learned that the Wallega district in Western Abyssinia is also affected."

A little later an article in the "Daily Express" said very much the same thing. In February the "Evening Standard" reported:

"Refugees arriving here"—
that is Port Said—

"in French steamers told further stories of the daily massacre of hundreds of Italian

[Mr. Noel-Baker.]

troops in Abyssinia. The refugees declared that Italian forces are in great distress because of the shortness of provisions. There is a famine in Addis-Ababa. The people are eating cats, dogs and monkeys. Bands of Abyssinian soldiers attack Italian outposts almost every night."

I come still more up to date in the sense that I now desire to give the Under-Secretary information which was printed in the month of May. I referred to it at Question Time to-day. It is the information of a Frenchman who went to Abyssinia and was with the Abyssinian army. He went in from Kenya and travelled by Lake Rudolph into the South of the country. This is what he says:

"While the diplomatists are trying to work out the most suitable way to recognise the Italian conquest, I have been watching the Abyssinians carry on the war against the invaders. Although Europe may have lost sight of it, that war is as real as the existence of an independent Abyssinia with its own capital, Gore, its own Government, and its own army. I have just returned to Europe after sharing the life of the army for several weeks."

He described a number of actions he saw; how the Abyssinians are able to destroy Italian crops; and he gives a picture which, I think, would convince even the Under-Secretary that the administration of the Italians is not working so smoothly as they might desire. He also gives a map, showing one great area which is independent, and another great area in which there is continual guerilla fighting. To that there must be added the area of the Gojjam Provinces which the Minister himself has admitted are in revolt.

To this evidence we can add that of two great British authorities. I venture to say that there is no higher authority in the world on Africa than Lord Lugard. A few days ago Lord Lugard wrote to the "Times" as follows:

"Replies to questions in the House have withheld from the public the real situation in Abyssinia, because His Majesty's Government were unable to confirm reports of which they had no definite proof, but there is undeniable evidence that it is very critical—and the rains are shortly due when it may become more so."

That is supplemented by the evidence of another very high authority on Africa, Miss Margery Perham of Oxford. As everybody knows, Miss Margery Perham is a great African traveller. She wrote a letter to the "Times," dated 29th April, saying that she had just returned from

the Abyssinian frontier, where, if anywhere, one is likely to hear the truth. She said:

"There is evidence to show that the conquest is by no means a historical fact, and that the increasing vigour of the Abyssinian struggle for freedom, with Italy's growing financial difficulties, might, during the coming rains, induce Rome to compromise with the huge task she has undertaken."

She goes on:

"Even were the conquest complete it would still be only the beginning of the Abyssinian problem. Few if any subject people has ever had such strong and abiding stimulus to nationalism as the Abyssinians, whether in their character, their long and independent history, or in a struggle to defend their freedom in which the world openly justified them against their aggressors."

I venture to say that that evidence, which is confirmed by many other travellers with whom I have spoken, who have come back from those parts of the world, tends to show that His Majesty's Government, perhaps, have not got the whole of the facts and that there is, at least very real doubt—I do not wish to overstate it—about the military and administrative situation in Abyssinia to-day. I would add that I have this morning received information, from sources which have always proved reliable in the past, that there has been heavy fighting near Addis Ababa during the last fortnight, that a very important personality in the Italian administration was wounded outside Addis Ababa not long ago, and that two attacks have been made on Addis Ababa itself. In these circumstances, what do the Government propose? They have gone to Geneva and they have suggested that members of the League should set aside—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker (Captain Bourne):

I understood that notice had been given that the question of what the Government did at Geneva was to be raised to-morrow. I warn the hon. Member that if he raises it to-night, he may be anticipating to-morrow's Debate.

Mr. Noel-Baker: I do not desire to go outside your Ruling, Mr. Deputy-Speaker. I was simply suggesting that the action of the Government at Geneva ought to depend upon the real facts of the situation. If you desire that I should not proceed with that part of what I intended to say, I will leave it out. But in conclusion, I must recall that the law of the Covenant in this matter is perfectly

clear, that Article 10, which, as President Wilson said, is the heart of the Covenant, has twice been interpreted, by a unanimous resolution of the Committee of Twelve of the Council of the League, and by the unanimous resolution of the Assembly of the League; and that the Assembly said:

"It is incumbent upon the Members of the League of Nations not to recognise any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League of Nations or to the Pact of Paris."

I suggest that even if, as Miss Perham says, the conquest of Abyssinia were complete—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Notice has been given that this question will be raised on the Adjournment to-morrow, and the hon. Member must not go into the question of Geneva. The hon. Member for Kingswinford (Mr. Henderson) raised, quite properly, the question of the accuracy of the Government's information about Abyssinia, but if hon. Members go into the question of the Government's action at Geneva, it may affect the Debate to-morrow.

Mr. Noel-Baker: My hon. Friend the Member for Kingswinford (Mr. Henderson) raised the question of the situation in Abyssinia, with reference to the despatch of a commission of inquiry. It is to that point that I desire to address myself. I venture to suggest that the action taken by the Government ought not to have been taken without asking for a commission of inquiry. In every previous case when action has been required by the League, and there has been doubt about the facts, such commissions of inquiry have been sent, and in no instance has that procedure, when adopted, failed to give satisfaction and to bring results that did justice to all the parties concerned. That was done over the Aaland Islands, in the first year of the League's existence; it was done later over Demir Kapou, over Mosul, and over Manchuria in 1931; and I venture to say that the facts which have been recited by my hon. Friend the Member for Kingswinford, and the information with which I have supplemented what he said, show that the conquest of Abyssinia is not complete, that there is at least grave doubt as to what is the real situation in Abyssinia, and that unless the Government accept a commission of

inquiry, but proceed to recognise without it, they will take action which will not, indeed, ensure the conquest of the Abyssinian people—in that I do not believe—but which will leave upon British honour a stain which will not easily be wiped out.



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tallinn, May 12, 1938.

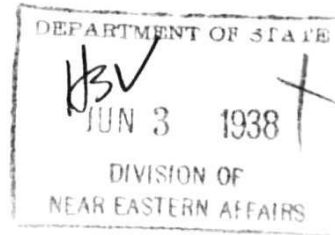
No. 441

Subject: Recognition of Abyssinia by Estonia
as Part of the Italian Empire.

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1938 MAY 31 PM 3 22

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS



865D.01/500

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced yesterday (May 11, 1938), that the Estonian Minister in Rome, Dr. J. Leppik, delivered a note on May 10, 1938, to the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, informing him that the first President of Estonia, elected according to the new Constitution, had entered upon the duties of his office. The note was addressed

to

JUN 8 1938

FILED

to the King of Italy and the Emperor of Abyssinia and in delivering it the Estonian Minister declared that the Government of Estonia recognized thereby the Italian Empire and regarded its Minister at Rome as accredited to the King of Italy and the Emperor of Abyssinia.

It would appear that the Government of Estonia considered it timely to recognize the Italian Empire on the occasion of notifying the Government of Italy, through its Minister in Rome, of the inauguration of President Päts.

The only editorial comment which has appeared in the local newspapers to date is in the Estonian daily newspaper PAEVALEHT, written by the Chief Editor, H. Tammer. A translation is enclosed.

Respectfully yours,

Walter A. Leonard,
Walter A. Leonard
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

↓ Enclosure:

1/ Translation of editorial.

File No. 711
WAL/to

In quintuplicate.
Copies to Riga, Kaunas and Rome.

Enclosure No. 1 to despatch No. 441 dated May 12, 1938,
entitled "Recognition of Abyssinia by Estonia".

SOURCE: PAEVALEHT of May 12, 1938. No. 128.

Translation of the Excerpts Pertaining to
the Recognition of the Italian Empire.

"More and more countries are granting recognition to the Italian Empire, or in other words to the final annexation of Abyssinia by Italy and to the termination of Abyssinia's independence, regardless of the fact that the Council of the League of Nations has decided to permit the Emperor of Abyssinia, Haile Selassie, to come to the meeting of the League of Nations Council for the purpose of protecting the interests of his State. The Emperor of Abyssinia will speak before the League of Nations Council today. At this meeting it will possibly become clear as to how the League of Nations plans to rid itself of the Abyssinian problem and as to what judicial formula will be found therefor. Without awaiting this, the Government of Estonia, already yesterday, through its Minister at Rome, granted recognition to the Italian Empire. By taking this step, the Government of Estonia has emphasized the independence of its actions in its relations with Italy as well as its independence as to the League of Nations' decisions. Many of Estonia's immediate neighbors have already resorted to a similar action and several countries are expected to act likewise in the near future.

As a matter of fact, no other solution of the problem could be expected between Italy and the members of the League of Nations since the Plenary meeting of the League had passed a resolution (on July 4, 1936) putting an end to the sanctions. Or should the continued non-recognition of the Italian Empire be interpreted to mean the continuation in force of some special sanctions against Italy?"

"The desire to re-establish normal relations with Italy has dictated the steps which the States have recently made. In view of the existing relations between Estonia and Italy, Estonia had no reasons to refrain from its action. Italy's good will toward Estonia has been known ever since the first years of Estonia's independence, and more recent acts speak for a warm understanding that Italy has demonstrated toward the enhancement of a cultural rapprochement with Estonia."

11./to

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760d.60p/17 FOR #458

FROM Finland (Schoenfeld) DATED May 3, 1938

79//

NAME

1-1127

REGARDING:

Conversation with the Finnish Foreign Minister regarding visit of Latvian Foreign Minister to Helsinki. Obligations of members of the League for recognition of the Ethiopian annexation as a results of the withdrawal of sanctions against Italy.

ML

865d.01

865D.01/501

501

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760d.65/1 FOR Des#459

FROM Finland (Schoenfeld) DATED May 3, 1938

TP/

NAME

1-1127

• P •

REGARDING:

Conversation with the Finnish Minister of Foreign Affairs. Intention of the Finnish Government to recognize the annexation of Ethiopia by Italy.

ML

865d.01

865D.01/502

502

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.60d65/10 FOR #472

FROM Finland (Schoenfeld) DATED May 9, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia will probably
be made after the forthcoming meeting of the Council of
the League of Nations.

emc
✓

865D.01/503

503

865D.01

QUINTUPPLICATE

No. 472.

Helsinki, May 9, 1938.

Subject: Departure of Finnish Minister to Italy.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

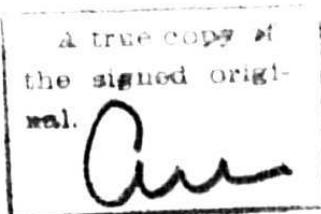
Sir:

Referring to recent correspondence regarding the proposed departure for Rome of Professor Rafael Erich, who was designated many months ago as Finnish Minister to Italy but had not proceeded to his post on account of the question of the address of his credentials, I have the honor to report that Minister Erich left Helsinki on May 6 for Berlin where, according to an official statement, he will remain before continuing his journey to Rome when "corresponding credentials can be issued to him".

As also indicated in recent correspondence, it is expected that the Finnish Government will accredit its Minister at Rome to the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia upon the conclusion of the forthcoming meeting of the Council of the League of Nations.

Respectfully yours,

H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld



710

HFAS/iel

In quintuplicate to Department.

Copy to Embassy at Rome.

Copy to Consulate at Geneva.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.60d65/11 FOR #485

FROM Finland (Schoenfeld) DATED May 14, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by Finland,
the new Minister being accredited to the King of Italy
as the Emperor of Ethiopia.

emc ✓

865D.01/504

504

QUINTUPLICATE

No. 465.

Helsinki, May 14, 1938.

Subject: Finnish Minister to Italy Accredited to King
of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

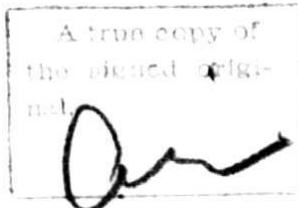
Referring to my despatch no. 472 of May 9, 1938
with reference to the departure for Rome of Professor
Safael Erich, appointed Finnish Minister to Italy,
I have the honor to inform the Department that, accord-
ing to an authorized statement appearing in the local
press today, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has stated
that the President of the Republic on May 13 issued
credentials for Minister Erich as Envoy Extraordinary
and Minister Plenipotentiary of Finland to His Majesty
the

the King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia", it being added that Minister Erich will probably arrive in Rome today.

This would seem to conclude the long standing incident as to the action of the Finnish Government in accrediting its representative in Italy to the King as Emperor.

Respectfully yours,

H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld



710
HFAS/1el
In quintuplicate to Department.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 500.C 112/1357 FOR #261

FROM Sweden (Dearing) DATED May 18, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1137 GPO

REGARDING:

Italian annexation of Ethiopia. Swedish Government has now accredited C.E.T. av Wirsén, as its Minister to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia, thus formally recognizing the -.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.00/192 FOR Despatch #343

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED May 19, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Lord Halifax, during debate in the House of Lords on May 18th, maintained that on question of principle involved in the, - no progress could be made if Great Britain was to lose sight of what was possible.

865D.01/506

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.3365/8 FOR #169

FROM Uruguay (Dawson) DATED May 20, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Uruguayan recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia;
press report to this effect.

emc ✓

865D.01/507

507

865D.01

865d.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 858.00 P.R./270 FOR #263

FROM Sweden (Dearing) DATED May 20, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Recognition of Italy's annexation of Ethiopia
by Sweden. By accrediting its Minister to
the King of Italy and the Emperor of Ethiopia,
the Swedish Government has formally recognized
Italian annexation of Ethiopia.

2. SWEDEN RECOGNIZES ITALY'S ANNEXATION OF ETHIOPIA:

By accrediting its Minister, Mr. C.E.T. af Wirsén,
to the King of Italy and the Emperor of Ethiopia, the
Swedish Government has formally recognized the Italian
annexation of Ethiopia. Mr. af Wirsén presented his
letters on May 18, 1938.

(See the Legation's despatch No. 261 of May 18,
1938.)

865D.01/508 508

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.60d65/12 FOR #909

FROM Italy (Reed) DATED May 17, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 000

REGARDING: Finnish recognition of the Italian conquest in Ethiopia.

✓ enc

865 D.O.1 / 509

509

865d.c1

No. 909

Rome, May 17, 1938.

**Subject: Recognition of the Ethiopian Conquest
by Finland.**

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatch No. 901 of May 12, 1938, and previous despatches, concerning recognition by foreign states of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, and to report that the Italian press on May 14th published a United Press despatch to the effect that Finland has officially recognized the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and that the new Finnish Minister to Rome, Doctor Erieh, is en route to this city where he will present his credentials accrediting him to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia."

It ...

It will be recalled from the Embassy's despatch No. 888 of April 29, 1938, that the Chargé d'Affaires of Finland, M. Jalanti, informed Count Ciano on that date that this action would be taken.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Edward L. Reed,
Counselor of Embassy.

WR/WRM
701.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.3365/9 FOR #916

FROM Italy (Reed) DATED May 20, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by
Uruguay; press notice to this effect.

enc

865 D.O.1510

865 D.O.1

ROME, May 20, 1938.

No. 916

**Subject: Recognition by Uruguay of
the Ethiopian Conquest.**

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to previous despatches concerning recognition by various countries of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and to report that the Italian press of May 20, 1938, carried an official communiqué to the effect that the Chargé d'Affaires of Uruguay, M. Federico Grünwaldt Cuestas, had informed Count Ciano that his Government now considered its diplomatic representative in Italy as accredited to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia". No other publicity was given this announcement.

Respectfully yours,
For the Ambassador:

Edward L. Reed
Counselor of Embassy

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.2365/3 FOR #910

FROM Italy (Reed) DATED May 17, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by Peru;
Italian press comment to this effect.

✓

865 D.01/511

511

865 D.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.5865/6 FOR #915

FROM Italy (Reed) DATED May 20, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 uro

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by
Sweden; press statement to this effect.

emc

✓

865 D.01/512

Rome, May 20, 1938.

No. 915

Subject: Recognition of Ethiopian Conquest
by Sweden.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to previous despatches concerning recognition by various countries of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and to report that the Italian press of May 19 carried an official communiqué to the effect that M. Binar af Wirsén, newly appointed Minister from Sweden to Italy, had been received at the Quirinal when he presented letters accrediting him to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia".

The

The recognition of the Ethiopian conquest by Sweden and Finland (reference Embassy's despatch No. 909 of May 17, 1938) has received the most publicity in the local press since the recognition accorded by Belgium and the Netherlands (reference Embassy's despatches No. 838 and No. 843 of March 25 and 30, 1938).

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

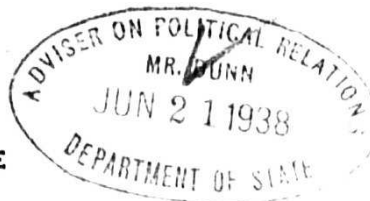
Edward L. Reed
Counselor of Embassy

ACR:jp

701



RECEIVED
THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
JUN 14 PM 3 27



AMERICAN EMBASSY

Rome, May 28, 1938.

No. 936

Subject: Political, Military and Administrative
Ordinance for Italian East Africa.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

File JUN 15 1938
AMBA

Copy 6 MID

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

JUN 28 1938

Sir:

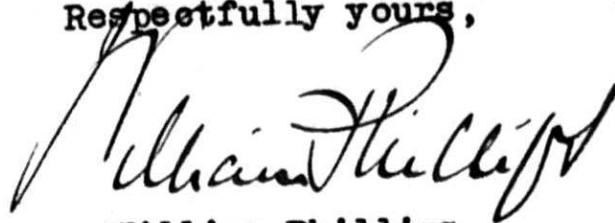
With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 1743
of June 17, 1936, transmitting the Royal Decree-law No.
1019 of June 1, 1936, relating to the Organization and
Administration of Italian East Africa, I have the honor
to inform the Department that the politico-administra-
tive ordinance establishing the details of the adminis-
trative system has been promulgated by Royal Decree-law
No. 2708 of November 17, 1937, published in the OFFICIAL
GAZETTE of April 20, 1938. The Military Attaché of this
Embassy has prepared a translation of such articles of
the Decree as are considered of interest. A copy of his

report ...

865D.01/513

1./ report is enclosed.

Respectfully yours,



William Phillips.

Enclosures:

1. Report by
Military Attaché.

SR / wrm

801.

G-2 Report

3030

6010

ITALY (POLITICAL : COMBAT - ARMY)

Subject: Relationship between Mother Country and its
Dependencies - Army Establishment.

Political, Administrative and Military organization
of Italian East Africa.

Reference the following reports:

- a) Italy No. 15,320-3030 " Territorial Sub-division of Italian East Africa " June 5, 1936,
b) Italy No. 15,749-3030 " Administrative Sub-divisions of the East African Provinces " January 22, 1937,
c) Italy No. 16,023-6010 " Military Establishment for Italian East Africa " May 28, 1937,
d) Italy No. 16,161-2700 " Organization of Colonial Police Corps " August 5, 1937,
e) Italy No. 16,327-3030 " New Viceroy for Ethiopia " November 23, 1937,

Royal Decree # 2708 of November 15, 1937, published in the official Gazette of April 20, 1938, gives the " Political, Administrative and Military organization of Italian East Africa ". Those parts of this Decree which are considered of interest have been translated and are being submitted in this report.

General Government

Art. 1

The offices of the General Government are as follows:

Office of the Viceroy, Governor General;
Office of the Vice Governor General;
The General Staff;
Superior Directorate of political affairs;
Superior Directorate of civilian affairs;
Superior Directorate of economic affairs;
Superior Directorate of colonization and works;
Superior Directorate of personnel and general affairs;
Office of press and propaganda;
Superior accounting office.

A General Inspectorate of Police, headed by an Inspector from the Corps of Colonial Police. This Inspectorate receives general instructions from the Superior Directorate of political affairs.

Art. 2

The person who is entrusted with the regency of the general government is designated as " The Regent of the General Government ". He may be appointed by the Minister of Italian Africa, or by the Viceroy, Governor General, or, in his absence, by the Regent of the General Government in charge.

.....

Art. 5

The office of the Viceroy, Governor General includes one Chief of the office, two other officials, one member of the Corps of Colonial Police, two officers of the armed forces and a variable number of other officials.

Art. 6

The Viceroy, Governor General has one private secretary assisted by two employees.

Art. 7

The Office of the Vice Governor General includes two officials, one member of the Corps of Colonial Police and two employees.

Art. 8

The General Staff of the General Government includes:

- The Chief of Staff - a Corps General of the Army;
- The Deputy Chief of Staff - a Brigade General of the Army;
- an Inspectorate of Colonial Infantry - under a Brigade General;
- an Inspectorate of Artillery - under a Brigade General;
- an Inspectorate of Engineers - under a Brigade General;
- and an Inspectorate of the Black Shirt Units - under a Consul-General of the Militia.

Furthermore, there are:

- a Superior Directorate of Services - under a Brigade General, including:
 - a Directorate of Artillery, a Directorate of Engineers, a Directorate of Transportation, a Medical Directorate, a Commissariat Directorate, a Veterinary Directorate, and Administrative Directorate, and a geographic map office.

The General Staff also includes other organizations indicated by special regulations.

The number of officers, NCOs, enlisted men and civilians to be assigned to the General Staff shall be determined by Decree of the Minister of Italian Africa.

Art. 9

The Superior Directorates of the General Government take care of matters pertaining to the General Government and direct and coordinate affairs included in their sphere of activity.

The office of press and propaganda is charged with the supervision of all papers, broadcasting, moving pictures and public shows.

The Vice Governor General and the Directors of Superior Directorates must visit, every year, the five provinces of Italian East Africa and the Commissariats included therein, in compliance with instructions issued by the Viceroy, Governor General.

.....

Art. 11

Whenever necessary, the Viceroy, Governor General, shall issue orders for a meeting of the "General Council of the General Government". He decides as to the matters to be discussed during the meeting. Each month, copy of the proceeds of the meetings shall be submitted to the Minister of Italian Africa.

Governments of the 5 provinces

Art. 18

The offices of each Government are:

- Office of the Secretary General;
- Command of troops;
- Directorate of political affairs;
- Directorate of civilian affairs;

- 3 -

Directorate of economic affairs;
Directorate of Colonization and works;
Directorate of personnel and general affairs;
Accounting office.

In the capital of each province there is an Inspectorate of Police which receives general instructions from the Directorate of Political affairs.

The technical services and public offices existing in the territory come under the Directorates of the Government, according to their tasks and duties.

The civil justice administrations come under the Directorate of civilian affairs, and the military justice administrations under the Command of troops.

Art. 19

The person entrusted with the regency of the Government is designated as "The Regent of the Government". He is appointed by the Viceroy, or by the Regent of the General Government, or by the Regent of the Government in charge. He is assisted by a Secretary General.

.....

Art. 22

The Command of Troops in each province government is held by a Division General of the Army. If the Regent of the Government is a general officer of the Army, Navy, Air Force or Militia, he may also be charged with the Command of Troops. In such case he is assisted by a Division general or Brigade general of the Army.

Art. 23

The Governor has one private secretary assisted by two employees, and one official of the Corps of Colonial Police.

Art. 24

The Secretary General has three officials to assist him in his work.

Art. 25

The Directorates of each Government are divided into sections, each under a Chief of Section. The Directors of Government supervise their Directorates and are responsible to the Secretary General and to the Governor.

.....

Art. 27

The Directorate of political affairs includes two Sections: The Section of general political affairs and The Section of internal political affairs.

Art. 28

The Section of general political affairs takes care of:
Affairs of an international character. Affairs concerning the frontiers and relations with adjoining territories.
Activity of missions (catholic and others).
Affairs concerning political, commercial and administrative agreements. Economic collaboration with foreign states, organizations and in-

- 4 -

dividuals. Affairs concerning societies organized with the participation of foreign capital.

Affairs concerning citizens and subjects residing abroad and foreigners residing in Italian East Africa. Foreign immigration.

Foreign representatives.

Study of political and religious movements of African and Asiatic countries.

Affairs concerning organizations existing abroad for subjects.

Political information of an external character.

Art. 29

The Section of internal political affairs takes care of:

Political organization, Political-administrative subdivisions, Internal politics.

National political activity, Affairs concerning the political organizations of the Fascist Party.

Religions, Moslem and Jewish jurisdictions and relative personnel.

Affairs concerning native populations and chiefs in general. Affairs concerning local institutions and laws. Measures affecting native populations and examination of political laws applying to them. Political affairs concerning land property.

Records of all chiefs and notable personalities. Titles and honorary attributions for natives. Contributions from natives. Citizenship and title of subject. Internal political informations.

Affairs concerning the appointment of government authorities.

Affairs concerning the rights and duties of the Governor with respect to the judicial administration.

Police service.

Art. 30

The Directorate of civilian affairs is divided in two sections: The Section of civil organization and The Section of judicial affairs and municipal administrations.

Art. 31

The Section of civil organization takes care of:

Public hygiene, sanitary assistance and inspections, inspection of animals, licenses to doctors, etc.

Hospitals, first aid posts, medical laboratories, medical service at ports and at frontier posts, medical first aid.

Functioning of medical services.

Hygienic, maritime, hydro, highway and railroad public works.

Hydroelectric and thermoelectric plants.

City plans, buildings and city services.

Schools and school buildings, Public and private tuition, Fine arts and archeology.

Public welfare, assistance to public and private organizations. Assistance to veterans and their families.

Art. 32

The Section of judicial affairs and municipal administrations takes care of:

Affairs concerning the administration of justice. Ordinary and special jurisdiction, Admiralty, extraditions, Prisons.

Record of lawyers, Notary publics, Discipline of the legal profession.

Municipal administrations and relative services. Records of citizens and demographic services.

Military levy, War discipline, Civil mobilization.

Art. 33

The Directorate of economic affairs includes four sections: The Section of economic affairs, The Section of communications, The Section of civil financial affairs and The Section of military administrative affairs.

Art. 34

The Section of economic affairs takes care of:

Discipline of industrial and commercial activities. Examination of applications for carrying out such activities. Records of all such activities.

Colonial "laissez-passer" and visa on passports.

General economy: organizations concerned with its development. Studies and research concerning economic development. Preparation of general plans for development and control of enforcement of such plans. Coordination of various local activities with the economic exigencies of the land.

Industrial activities. Workmen. Mines, ores, stones and salt.

Monopolies, trade marks, patents and rights of authors.

Commercial exchange. Fairs and markets. Auxiliary commercial organizations. Caravans.

Foreign trade. Imports and exports. Commercial trade balance.

Application of commercial treaties.

Customs. Exchange and currencies. Money system.

Credit and banking (exclusive of credit in connection with buildings and land property). Savings.

Insurance. Weight and measures. Supplies and consumption.

Tourist services.

Art. 35

The Section of communications takes care of:

Programs and regulations concerning transportation on land, at sea and by air, and communications in general. Ways of communication and transportation. Coordination of transportation means. Affairs relative to means of transportation and communication.

Discipline of truck transportation and automobile services. Automobile lines.

Operation of railroad lines, ropeways, and air communications.

Maritime zones. Sailors. Organization of harbor service. Naval property. Examination of projects for new naval constructions. Port equipment. Lighthouses and lights. Anchorage taxes and harbor fees. Pilot service. Maritime communications. Subsidized maritime services. Transportation of personnel and materiel for the general administration.

Postal, telegraph and telephone services. Civil radio telegraph and radio telephone services.

Art. 36

The Section of civil financial affairs takes care of:

Financial regulations. Preparation of necessary elements for the compilation of the budget. Checking of financial administration.

Organization and administration of the government land property, and other patrimonial activities.

Taxation. Taxes to be paid by local organizations. Fiscal monopolies. Financial operations of the Government and local organizations.

Treasury services. Finance police. Custom services. Royal Finance Guard.

Art. 37

The Section of military administrative affairs takes care of:
Administration of the appropriations inscribed in the budget for military expenditure.

Checking accountings of cash and materiel of military organizations, within the government jurisdiction.

Art. 38

The Directorate of colonization and works includes two sections: The Section of colonization and The Section of works and assistance to workmen.

Art. 39

The Section of colonization takes care of:

Land distribution. Property. Records of property.

Agricultural programs and organizations. Distribution of terrain destined to agricultural colonization. Firms authorized to carry out such colonization.

Administrative measures concerning concession of land for agricultural purposes, concession of exploitation of spontaneous vegetation, concession of exploitation of water for irrigation.

Credits in connection with buildings and land property.

Fishing. Hunting. Protection of animals and trees.

Discipline of agricultural colonization. Examination of applications for agricultural colonization. General Records of all firms authorized to carry out agricultural colonization.

Studies and programs for agricultural improvements. Relationship between agricultural colonization and agricultural economy of the natives. Agricultural methods of natives. Study of contracts.

Reclamation of land and transformation of soil for agricultural purposes.

Technical services. Cultivation. Protection of animals. Wild animals and vegetation.

Mechanical agricultural means. Demonstrative stations.

Forestry service. Employment of Forestry Militia. Meteorological service.

Services of agricultural research. Schools. Experimental stations.

Art. 40

The Section of works and assistance to workmen takes care of:

Organization of work. Discipline and protection of professional categories. Regulations governing employment of workmen. Regulations for offer and request for workmen.

Migration of workmen. Assistance to workmen. Insurances. International problems for the protection of workmen.

Corporative organization. Cooperation.

Organizations for the moral, professional and cultural improvement of workmen.

Art. 41

The Directorate of personnel and general affairs includes three sections: The Section of personnel, The section of general affairs, and The Section of studies.

- 7 -

Art. 42

The Section of personnel takes care of:

Administration and discipline of civilian personnel, both regular and supernumerary, of personnel of the Royal Finance Guard and of the Special Militias which are not taken care of by other Directorates, of other military personnel detailed to civil duties who however remains under military discipline.

Administration and discipline of native personnel, civil and military, regular and supernumerary, assigned to civil services and to the armed corps of the technical services, when they do not come under other Directorates.

Art. 43

The Section of general affairs takes care of:

Organization of the general services of the offices of the Government. Supply of the offices and quarters of the administration.

Organization of archives and files.

Cash service, and accounting.

Colonial "laissez-passer" and visa on passports of members of the administration.

Operation of automotive means used by civil services.

Examination of the regulations prepared by the different services of the government.

Coordination of the various regulations issued by the government.

Publication of laws, decrees, and regulations.

Publication of the Bulletin and official papers of the government.

Filing of original governmental decrees.

Collection and publication of colonial regulations.

Affairs not assigned to other offices.

Art. 44

The Section of studies takes care of:

Studies concerning the colonial territory. Collection of data, news and information of a general character. Exploration, missions and scientific research. Publications of a colonial character.

Institutes and associations of colonial culture. Affairs concerning international colonial institutes and scientific and cultural congresses.

Translations.

Geographic maps. File of maps.

Libraries and relative services.

Historical archives. Inspection of archives for collecting documents of an historical interest.

Museums, expositions and fairs. Collection of colonial curiosities and photographs.

Services of the press, broadcasting, moving pictures and public shows.

Collection and preparation of statistic data.

Art. 45

Whenever necessary, the Governor shall issue orders for a meeting of the " Council of the Government ". He decides as to the matters to be discussed during the meeting. Each month, copy of the proceeds of the meetings shall be submitted to the Viceroy, Governor General, and to the Minister of Italian Africa.

MILITARY ATTACHE
American Embassy
ROME, ITALY

- 8 -

Armed forces

Art. 50

The ground armed forces of Italian East Africa include:

- one national division at Addis Abeba;
- 16 colonial brigades, of which 3 in Eritrea, 4 in Ahmara, 3 in Harrar, 4 in Galla and Sidamo and 2 in Somaliland;
- additional infantry, artillery and engineer troops not included in the national division and in the colonial brigades;
- services not assigned to the national division or to the colonial brigades.

Separate Decrees will establish the organization of other ground forces, forces of the R. Navy and R. Aeronautica stationed in the territory and in the territorial waters of Italian East Africa.

Art. 51

The national division includes:

- one headquarters, under a Division general;
- two regiments of African infantry, each comprising the Hq, an accompanying battery, three battalions and a depot;
- one battalion of African machinegunners;
- one regiment of African artillery, comprising the Hq, two pack groups and a depot;
- two companies of African engineers;
- one medical section;
- one subsistence section.

Art. 52

The colonial brigades include:

- one headquarters, under a brigade general or a Colonel;
- colonial units of the various arms, totalling:
 - 58 battalions of colonial infantry;
 - 5 groups of squadrons of colonial cavalry;
 - 16 groups of colonial artillery;
 - 16 mixed companies of colonial engineers;
- services, consisting of one medical pack unit and one nucleus of subsistence, for each brigade.

Art. 53

The troops not included in the national division and in the colonial brigades include:

a) infantry:

- a group of four African Black Shirt battalions, at Addis Abeba;
- nine African Black Shirt motorised m'gun battalions, of which one in Eritrea, two in Ahmara, two in Harrar, two in Galla and Sidamo and two in Somaliland;
- two battalions of colonial infantry, one of which in Addis Abeba and the other in Somaliland.

b) cavalry:

- a group of squadrons of colonial cavalry in Addis Abeba.

c) artillery:

- four motorized groups of African artillery, of which one in Ahmara, one in Harrar, one in Galla and Sidamo and one in Somaliland;
- four African Black Shirt antiaircraft artillery groups, of which two in Addis Abeba, one in Eritrea and one in Harrar;

- 9 -

- one group of eight position batteries, in Addis Abeba;
- seven companies of colonial gunners, of which two in Eritrea, one in Ahmara, one in Harrar, one in Galla and Sidamo, and two in Somaliland.

d) Engineers:

- one special African regiment, in Addis Abeba, comprising the Hq, two battalions, one railroad company and one depot.

Art. 54

The troops listed in the above Article and stationed in Addis Abeba are under the Command of Addis Abeba which is held by a brigade general.

Art. 55

The units designated as "African" consist of Italian white troops exclusively; the units designated as "Colonial" consist of natives commanded by Italians.

Each colonial battalion (or corresponding unit) is stationed in a definite locality, together with its respective mobilization center which functions also as its depot.

The Viceroy Governor General may rule that the colonial battalions, although stationed in a definite locality, can recruit their personnel outside of their territory.

Art. 56

Within each troop Hq and within the Command of Addis Abeba there are organized a territorial depot and a colonial depot.

Art. 57

Within each troop Hq and within the Command of Addis Abeba there are also organized:

- a section of artillery with storehouses and workshops;
- an office of engineers' works, with storehouses and workshops;
- a medical office with storehouse;
- a commissariat office with storehouses;
- an office of veterinary;
- a military tribunal.

Art. 58

For the territorial hospital service the troop Hq, the Hq of the national division and the Command of Addis Abeba avail themselves of the civil hospitals which are particularly fitted for this purpose.

Art. 59

The storehouses of the artillery, engineer, commissariat, medical and veterinary services located in Addis Abeba are so equipped as to be able to function also as central reserve storehouses, and to furnish the national division with the means indispensable for the organization of the elements required by the division when it must be employed outside of its ordinary station.

Art. 60

The motor vehicle service includes:

- one special grouping of African Black Shirts, in Addis Abeba, comprising the Hq, three motor vehicle groups and one depot with storehouses and workshops;
- one motorvehicle section of the R. Army, with workshops, to each troop Hq.

Art. 61

The map making service consists of one office at each troop Hq.

These offices are under their respective governments. The trend, the program and the development of the work is established by the Ministry of Italian Africa. The instructions for the technical operation of these offices are issued by the Military geographic institute, which must keep the Ministry of Italian Africa acquainted with them.

Art. 62

The Viceroy, Governor General may order the temporary displacement of Hq, units and services from one government to another.

Art. 63

The aggregate strength of the military and civil personnel of the ground armed forces of Italian East Africa belonging to the R. Army (exclusive of the Carabinieri whose strength shall be determined by a separate Decree) and to the Militia, as far as the units listed in the present Decree is concerned, is given in the following table.

This strength includes the personnel of the R. Army and of the Militia belonging to the ground armed forces of Italian East Africa and on duty at the Ministry of Italian Africa and dependent organization, exclusive of that foreseen by special regulations.

Strength of military and civil personnel
of the ground armed forces of E.A.

Chief of Staff of general government (Corps General)	1
Troop commanders and commander of national division (Division Generals)	6
Deputy Chief of Staff, Inspector of colonial infantry, Inspectors of artillery, engineers, director of services, commander of Addis Abeba, vice command- er of national division (Brigade generals)	7
Brigade generals or colonels	17
Consul general of African Black Shirts, Inspector	1
Colonels of various arms	16
Consuls of African Black Shirts	2
Colonels and Lt. Colonels	11
Lt. Colonels of various arms and corps	36
Lt. Colonels and Majors of various arms and corps	112
Majors of various arms and corps	69
First Seniors and Seniors of African Black Shirts	25
Majors or Captains of various arms and corps	19
Captains of various arms and corps	583
Centurions of African Black Shirts	104
Captains or lieutenants of various arms and corps	87
1st or 2nd Lieutenants of various arms and corps	1174
Centurion or Chief maniple of the African Black Shirts	1
Chief maniples or Underchief maniples of African Black Shirts	190
Military chaplains	17

- 11 -

Regular civilian employees	125
Marshals of various arms and corps	457
Marshals or sergeant majors of various arms and corps	19
Adjutants of African Black Shirts	236
Adjutants of First Chiefs of Squads of African Black Shirts	16
Sergeant majors or sergeants of various arms and corps	924
First Chiefs of Squads or Chiefs of Squads of African Black Shirts	384
Italian troops and African Black Shirts	21145
Native troops	43270
Total	69054

Art. 64

By a Decree of the Minister of Italian Africa all personnel listed above will be subdivided between the Hq, Commands and units of the ground armed forces stationed in East Africa and the colonial administration stationed in the Kingdom.

Art. 65

The R. Corps of colonial troops of Eritrea and Somaliland shall be suppressed. Their flags will be turned over to the Hq of the Eritrean troops and to the Hq of the Somaliland troops, respectively.

To the ground armed forces specified in this Decree there will be applied the existing military regulations of the R. Corps of colonial troops of Eritrea in case of the forces under the general government and under the governments of Eritrea and Ahmara, and the existing military regulations of the R. Corps of colonial troops of Somaliland in case of the forces under the governments of Somaliland, Harrar and Galla and Sidama.

Art. 66

Appointment to the posts foreseen for the colonial armed forces is made by Royal Decree, upon recommendation of the Minister of Italian Africa, when general officers and colonels or officers of corresponding rank are concerned.

Comment: It is estimated that there are now approximately 96,000 Italian troops in East Africa, divided as follows:

Italian troops of the Colonial Garrisons as above	25,000
Troops of R. Aeronautica	13,000
Navy (Port personnel)	5,000
Special Militias	2,000
Special troops and services	44,000
Black Shirt troops (*)	7,000
	96,000

(*) Note: The above Colonial Garrison specifies 13 Black Shirt Infantry and M/G Battalions. There are records of 24 such Battalions having sailed for East Africa since December 14th 1937 (see Reports No. 16,372; 16,380; 16,423; and 16,598) which would make 11 Battalions now in East Africa in excess of the authorized number. This indicates that there is still considerable native resistance in the territory.

The above Decree provides a very detailed and comprehensive system of Colonial Government. However there is danger that it is too comprehensive and provides too much government supervision as it has been reported from reliable sources that the petty supervision and interference of minor officials is considerably hampering the efficient development of business enterprises in the territory.

G. H. PAINE, Colonel,
Military Attache

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

865D.01/514

SEE . 701.7465/6 FOR #92

FROM Bulgaria (Athens) DATED June 2, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by Bulgaria.

emc

865d.01

No. 92

Sofia, June 2, 1938.

**Subject: Bulgarian Official Recognition of
Italian Conquest of Ethiopia.**

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report the Legation has been informed that the Bulgarian Government has now instructed its Minister at Rome, Mr. Pomenoff, to inform the Italian Foreign Office that it considers him as accredited to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia, and that this information was conveyed by Mr. Pomenoff to the Italian Foreign Office on June 1, 1938.

The Bulgarian Government's action in this matter

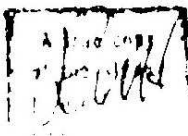
was

was anticipated as the King in receiving the new Italian Minister to Sofia on March 26, 1938, began his remarks with the words: "I am particularly pleased to receive from your hands the letter by which His Majesty the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia, etc.". This fact was reported in the Legation's despatch No. 60 of March 31, 1938.

Respectfully yours,

Ray Atherton

File No. 701.1/801
KGM/RWH



DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.3565/11 FOR Tel. #137 lpm
FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED June 7, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Argentine recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia,
the new Ambassador being accredited to King of Italy and
Emperor of Ethiopia.

emc✓

865D.01/515

865D.01

EDA

GRAY

ROME

Dated June 7, 1938

Received 1:15 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

137, June 7, 1 p.m.

I am reliably informed that the Italian Government has given its agreement to the appointment of Dr. Manuel Malbran as Argentine Ambassador accredited to the "King of Italy Emperor of Ethiopia".

PHILLIPS

CSB

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.5765/2 FOR 1926

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED May 27, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by Norway, Denmark and Iceland, their diplomatic representatives in Rome being accredited to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia.

~~etc~~

865D.01/516

516

865-D.01

ROME, May 27, 1938.

No. 926

Subject: Recognition of the Ethiopian Conquest
by Norway, Denmark and Iceland.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's previous despatches concerning recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, I have the honor to report that an official communiqué was published on May 21, 1938 to the effect that the Norwegian Minister in Rome, Johannes Irgens, called on the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to announce that the Norwegian Government considered its Minister in Rome accredited to the
"King

"King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia."

According to a subsequent communiqué, a similar announcement was made on May 24, 1938 by the Danish Minister on behalf of the Governments of Denmark and Iceland.

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips

33:jp

201

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.3365/10 FOR #173

FROM Uruguay (Dawson) DATED May 23, 1938
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Press comment on recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia by Uruguay; decision was apparently not submitted to the cabinet in advance and would have been opposed by certain members.

emc✓

865D.01/517

517

654

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 857.00-PR/177 FOR Despatch #187

FROM Norway (Patterson) DATED May 16, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 070

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Reports -, that Norway will accredit her next Minister to Italy to King and Emperor.

hc

865D.01/518

518

I.

DIPLOMATIC:

1. ~~New French Military Attache to Norway:~~

~~According to the "Journal of Commerce and Shipping" of May 6, Major Herremen, of the French Cavalry, has been appointed Military Attaché to the French Legations in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.~~

II.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL:

1. Norwegian Recognition of Ethiopia:
Statement to Press by Foreign Minister Koht:

365 d.p.1
In connection with a report that Finland and Sweden have declared themselves willing to accredit their new ministers in Rome to the King of Italy and also to him as Emperor of Ethiopia, the Norwegian Telegram Byraa (Norwegian News Agency) inquired of Foreign Minister Koht regarding the possibility that the Norwegian Government had undertaken or would undertake a similar step.

Mr. Koht replied: "I must first of all remark that this question has never been placed before the Norwegian Government for formal decision. Norway had no consuls in Ethiopia and there has been no change of minister at Rome since the war.

"Now, almost all the European governments and several governments outside Europe have in differing manner recognised the new dominion; and of the Scandinavian countries, Finland and Sweden have indicated their willingness to recognize the Italian King's title of Emperor. We are

here

here confronted by a situation of fact which, in so far as I am aware, no government in the world thinks of trying to alter. The circumstances require that when Norway next year, when the present Norwegian Minister retires for age, accredits a new Minister at Rome, it will follow the example of the other Northern countries."

(AFTENPOSTEN, May 14).

AFTENPOSTEN (May 15) remarked editorially that many will be startled when they read that Norway will recognize Italy's dominion over Ethiopia, since the conquest of Ethiopia is in contravention of the Covenant of the League of Nations and therefore Norway can never recognize the conquest so long as it is a member of the League. However, it cannot be denied that Ethiopia has now, factually, no other head than the Italian King who has replaced the Emperor who has fled the land. Accordingly, to recognize this fact is not at all the same as to approve the conquest. The paper continues to say that the evident defeat of the League is the fault of all its members in that none of them was, or is, willing to send its sons to the front in Ethiopia to eject the Italians. Therefore, there is nothing left to do but "to bite the sour apple" and to recognize the facts of the situation in our diplomatic relations with Italy.

"The Journal of Commerce and Shipping" finds that Mr. Koht wished to say publicly that Norway recognizes the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia, in order that there should be no doubt about Norway's position. It is a mistake to think that Norway will recognize the Italian Empire (i.e. when Minister Irgens, Norwegian Minister at Rome, retires from active service), for when the King of Italy became Emperor of Ethiopia, Mr. Irgens

automatically

automatically became Minister near the Emperor of Ethiopia. The Foreign Minister merely stated that next year there will take place a change in ministers which will give Norway occasion to recognize the situation in a formal manner.

Note: Mr. Francis Irgens, son of Minister Irgens, stated to me that his father was indeed due to retire next year so that it was probable that the new minister would be accredited to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia as had other envoys of the Scandinavian States.

Mr. C.J. Hambro, President of the Storting, and a League enthusiast, has been evidently displeased with the lack of success of the Negus at Geneva. He stated, in the course of after dinner remarks a few evenings ago that he had, as an officer of the League, accepted Haile Selassie's payment for League membership and had so assured him a chance to speak. This action on his part had obliged the British officials present to change all their speeches. He was clearly pleased at having had an opportunity to annoy the British on that occasion.

However, the Norwegian Government did not await Minister Irgens' retirement, since he was received by Count Ciano on May 21st. Mr. Irgens then stated that the Norwegian Government hereafter would regard him as accredited to His Majesty the King of Italy and the Emperor of Ethiopia.

"Aftenposten" May 22, 1938.

8650.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 771.00/56 FOR despatch #343

FROM Rumania (Gunther) DATED May 24, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Activities of Rumanian representatives at
meeting of the League of Nations, May 9
to 14.

Action taken concerning the recognition of
the conquest of Ethiopia. Rumanian
representative rallied to the suggestion
for - of the British.

dg

8650.01/519

519



DIVISION OF
JUN 21 1938
LEGATION OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

No. 211

Montevideo, June 10, 1938.

Subject: Motions introduced in Chamber of Representatives for Interpellation of Minister of Foreign Affairs regarding Recognition of Italian Empire and Relations with Spain.

BY AIR MAIL
LEAVING MONTEVIDEO
JUN 11 1938

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUN 20 PM 12 35

DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
JUN 27 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JUN 21 1938
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

File-M 39.
HS
cc

865D.01/520

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK		Yes	No
To the Field			
In L. S. A.			

Sir:

On June 1, the three Socialist members of the Uruguayan Chamber of Representatives introduced a motion for the purpose of calling upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs to appear before the Chamber and furnish an explanation concerning (1) the Government's action in recognizing the "annexation of Ethiopia to Italy or in other words the Italian Empire" and (2) the continued interruption of diplomatic relations with (the Republican Government of) Spain.

The

FILED

The motion was defeated, there being only sixteen affirmative votes with sixty Deputies present.

Later during the same session, the Communist Deputy Gómez presented a motion for the interpellation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs concerning the recognition of the "Italian Empire," no reference being made to relations with Spain. This motion was likewise defeated, being supported by only fifteen Deputies out of fifty-four still present.

In introducing their motion, the Socialist Deputies scored the recent action of the Uruguayan Government in recognizing the Italian conquest and asserted that Uruguay should have adhered to the "sound" position taken by the United States.

It is not believed that the vote on the two motions reflects the true attitude of the members of the Chamber towards the Italian conquest or Loyalist Spain. The motions were introduced by opposition members and were directed against the Government's foreign policy. The Chamber is composed almost wholly of persons belonging to pro-Government parties and it is rather surprising that the motions should have mustered as many votes as they did.

The present despatch has been delayed pending the receipt of an official account of the session since newspaper reports were incomplete and conflicting.

Respectfully yours,

William Dawson →

William Dawson

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY.

No. 211

Montevideo, June 10, 1938.

Subject: Motions introduced in Chamber
of Representatives for Inter-
pellation of Minister of Foreign
Affairs regarding Recognition of
Italian Empire and Relations
with Spain.

BY AIR MAIL
LEAVING MONTEVIDEO

JUN 11 1938

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

On June 1, the three Socialist members of the Uruguayan Chamber of Representatives introduced a motion for the purpose of calling upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs to appear before the Chamber and furnish an explanation concerning (1) the Government's action in recognizing the "Annexation of Ethiopia to Italy or in other words the Italian Empire" and (2) the continued interruption of diplomatic relations with (the Republican Government of) Spain.

The

The motion was defeated, there being only sixteen affirmative votes with sixty Deputies present.

Later during the same session, the Communist Deputy Gómez presented a motion for the interpellation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs concerning the recognition of the "Italian Empire," no reference being made to relations with Spain. This motion was likewise defeated, being supported by only fifteen Deputies out of fifty-four still present.

In introducing their motion, the Socialist Deputies scored the recent action of the Uruguayan Government in recognizing the Italian conquest and asserted that Uruguay should have adhered to the "sound" position taken by the United States.

It is not believed that the vote on the two motions reflects the true attitude of the members of the Chamber towards the Italian conquest or Loyalist Spain. The motions were introduced by opposition members and were directed against the Government's foreign policy. The Chamber is composed almost wholly of persons belonging to pro-Government parties and it is rather surprising that the motions should have mustered as many votes as they did.

The present despatch has been delayed pending the receipt of an official account of the session since newspaper reports were incomplete and conflicting.

Respectfully yours,

William Dawson

800
WD:r

a
FREDERICK G. FROST, SR.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE FIRM OF
FREDERICK G. FROST
ARCHITECTS
144 EAST 30TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

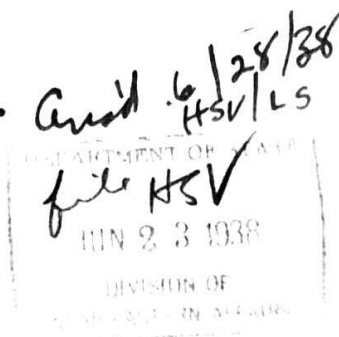
FREDERICK G. FROST, JR.

1938 JUN 22 AM 11 23



June 21st, 1938.

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS



July 9 1938.

Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

862.04/146
Referring to our letter of June 14th relative to the repainting of walls maps for an Exhibit here in New York. We acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 18th, with its enclosures, which will be of assistance to us.

A similar question has now risen with regard to the Ethiopian situation. Can you advise us as to whether or not Italy's conquest of that country has been recognized by our government.

Very truly yours,

F. G. Frost, Jr.

m

865D.01/521

6083

July 9 1938.

In reply refer to
NE 865D.01/521

My dear Mr. Frost:

In reply to your letter of June 21, 1938, I beg to inform you that this Government has had no occasion expressly to define its position with respect to Italian claims of sovereignty in Ethiopia. There is enclosed, as of possible interest to you in this connection, a copy of a statement made by the Secretary of State on July 16, 1937, setting forth the fundamental principles of the Government's international policy.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Wallace Murray
Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs

Enclosure:
Statement by Secretary of
State of July 16, 1937.

JUL 6 1938. FM
JUL 8 1938. PM

Mr. Frederick G. Frost, Jr.,

144 East Thirtieth Street,

New York, New York.

NE HSV/LS

Eu

PA/D



C
COPY

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE

July 16, 1937

This country constantly and consistently advocates maintenance of peace. We advocate national and international self-restraint. We advocate abstinence by all nations from use of force in pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations. We advocate adjustment of problems in international relations by processes of peaceful negotiation and agreement. We advocate faithful observance of international agreements. Upholding the principle of the sanctity of treaties, we believe in modification of provisions of treaties, when need therefor arises, by orderly processes carried out in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and accommodation. We believe in respect by all nations for the rights of others and performance by all nations of established obligations. We stand for revitalizing and strengthening of international law. We advocate steps toward promotion of economic security and stability the world over. We advocate lowering or removing of excessive barriers in international trade. We seek effective equality of commercial opportunity and we urge upon all nations application of the principle of equality of treatment. We believe in limitation and reduction of armament. Realizing the necessity for maintaining armed forces adequate for national security, we are prepared to reduce or to increase our own armed forces in proportion to reductions or increases made by other countries. We avoid entering into alliances or entangling commitments but we believe in cooperative effort by peaceful and practicable means in support of the principles hereinbefore stated.

d

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ADVISER ON POLITICAL RELATIONS

[Handwritten signature]

July 2, 1938.

N E

[Handwritten checkmark]
Dear Mr. Murray:

In confirmation of my telephone conversation with you, I desire to suggest that no change be made in our replies to inquiries with regard to recognition of Italian claims of sovereignty over Ethiopia. This is in accord with the decision reached by Mr. Welles when I took up with him the matter of the form of reply to be made to these inquiries.

[Handwritten signature]
James Clement Dunn.

PA/D JCD:AMW



In reply refer to
NE 865D.01/521

My dear Mr. Frost:

In reply to your letter of June 21, 1938, I may say that this Government has taken no action to recognize Italian claims of sovereignty in Ethiopia. There is enclosed, as of possible interest to you in this connection, a copy of a statement made by the Secretary of State on July 16, 1937, setting forth the fundamental principles of the Government's international policy.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Wallace Murray
Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs

Enclosure:

Statement by Secretary of
State of July 16, 1937.

Mr. Frederick G. Frost, Jr.,
144 East Thirtieth Street,
New York, New York.

HSV
NE HSV/LS

PA/D

Eu
JH

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760f.00/530 FOR tel #965 4pm 3 sections

FROM France (Bullitt) DATED June 20, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127

REGARDING: Government of Ethiopia

Bonnet has been informed that the Emperor
of Ethiopians to be reintroduced at the
September session of the League. Expressed
the wish that the League might soon recognize
that it was defunct.

dg

865D.01/522

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.60c65/8 FOR #963

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED June 10, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Polish recognition of Italian conquest in Ethiopia.

emc

865D.01/523

523

865d.c1

No. 963

ROME, June 10, 1938.

**Subject: Presentation of Letters of Credence by
newly appointed Polish Ambassador.**

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegram No. 50 of March 9th, 5 p.m., 1938, in which it was stated that Colonel Beck, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, during his visit to Rome, in responding to a toast by Count Ciano, proposed the health of the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia." That action was generally interpreted in press and diplomatic circles at the time as constituting formal recognition by Poland of the Ethiopian conquest.

I now ...

I now have the honor to report that on June 6th, 1938, Monsieur Dlucoszowski, newly appointed Ambassador from Poland to Italy, presented his letters of credence to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia." This fact, together with various subsequent activities of the new Polish Ambassador, such as laying a wreath on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, have been given slightly more publicity in the Roman press than similar acts on the part of other recently arrived diplomatic representatives.

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips.

ASR/wrm

701.

June 18 1938.

865D.01/523A

Dear Herschel:

965d.01
We have been interested to note the growing frequency of Parliamentary questions on the subject of the Italian position in Ethiopia, as shown by the debate in the House of Commons on May 18 and subsequent discussions in the House of Lords. It is apparent that there is an increasing disposition to question the Government's statements, made at the time of the Anglo-Italian Accord, to the effect that the Italian occupation was complete and that the most recent information showed Italy was exercising full authority over Ethiopian territory.

In this connection you will, I think, be interested in the memorandum which went forward to the Embassy under cover of a strictly confidential instruction on June 10. 481 C.F.
This indicated that at the very moment the British Government was making these statements, it was in possession of confidential information - obtained from its own official sources in Addis Ababa - to an exactly contrary effect.

We

Herschel V. Johnson, Esquire,

Counselor of American Embassy,

London.

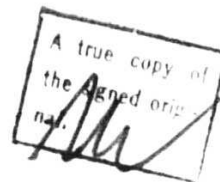
We should greatly appreciate any comments which the Embassy may be in a position to make on this subject. It is so difficult to reconcile the British Government's public attitude with the private reports which it has evidently been receiving that any observations from your office will be helpful to us here.

Sincerely yours,

WALLACE MURRAY

JUN 15 1938 PM
CR /

NE HSV/LS



Em
24. 1938

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.3865/12 FOR #2064

FROM Argentina (Weddell) DATED June 13, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Argentine recognition of the Italian conquest in Ethiopia by accrediting of new Ambassador to King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia; Foreign Minister states same is merely a matter of protocol, the manner of address not affecting Argentine policies or obligations. Effort of the French Government to avoid recognition in any form, even in manner of address.

emc

865D.01/524

52X

865D.01



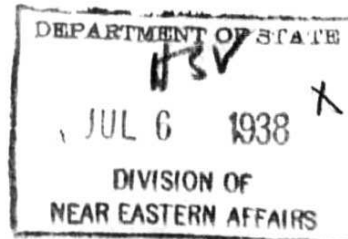
EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



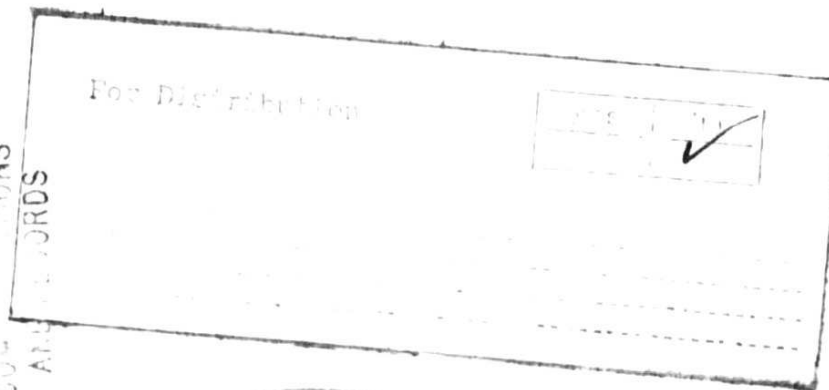
No. 2034

Buenos Aires, June 24, 1938

Sent by airmail June 25.
Copy by steamer.



TRANSMITTING EDITORIAL COMMENT ON ARGENTINE
RECOGNITION OF THE ITALIAN EMPIRE



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

1/2/

I have the honor to enclose in copy and translation the text of the leading editorial appearing in LA NACION of June 23, entitled "The Recognition of the Italian Empire." In this article an attempt is made to defend the recognition of the Italian Empire by the Argentine Government by advancing the argument

that

865D.01/525

FILED

that the doctrine of non-recognition of acquisitions of territory effected by force of arms is purely American and should not therefore be applied by American nations to such acquisitions of territory which take place in other parts of the world. It is an interesting fact that this editorial was written by Sr. Julio Navarro Menzú, Chief of Research, Archives and Propaganda of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, His official duties, however, have not prevented him from maintaining his connection with LA NACION to which he continues to contribute.

It will be recalled that in my recent conversation with Dr. Cantilo (see my despatch No. 2064 of June 13) ^{761.3565/12} the latter intimated to me that the recognition of the Italian Empire by Argentina was no longer in doubt.

Respectfully yours,



Alexander W. Weddell.

✓
Enclosures - As stated

Qn.
801
OW:NA

El reconocimiento del Imperio Italiano

Con motivo del conflicto italo-etiope y cuando éste era tratado en el seno de la Sociedad de las Naciones, LA NACION señaló, el 6 de agosto de 1935, la conveniencia que habría en no inmiscuirnos en las cuestiones europeas "ni siquiera para dar consejos". Bajo el epígrafe "La oposición de dos mundos", decíamos entonces que los principios directivos de la política internacional americana difícilmente pueden hacerse extensivos al viejo mundo. Son un patrimonio nuestro, del cual debemos estar orgullosos y por el cual debemos velar continuamente. No son, empero, un artículo de exportación. La unidad de origen de la mayoría de los pueblos de este continente permitió que establecieran, desde sus albores, el principio del "uti possidetis" como base para discutir sus litigios territoriales. La unidad de régimen político existente entre todos ellos, hizo posible, en seguida, la admisión unánime de ciertas normas jurídicas en el orden internacional. El arbitraje, por ejemplo, que como algo "enteramente nuevo" Lord Salisbury aceptaba a regañadientes, a proposición de los Estados Unidos para el arreglo de una divergencia entre Gran Bretaña y Venezuela en 1936, es un principio que, a lo menos teóricamente, nadie discute en América. Es fácil de comprender, sin embargo, que tales principios resultan difíciles de aplicar, y hasta de aceptar, entre países de tradiciones distintas, rivalidades hondas, odios ancestrales y, muchas veces, de desniveles profundos entre sus respectivas civilizaciones.

Lo que entonces afirmábamos merece ser recordado ahora, con motivo de la moción presentada en la alta Cámara oponiéndose al reconocimiento argentino del Imperio Italiano, aun si se trata de la forma protocolar del encabezamiento de las credenciales del nuevo embajador acreditado en Roma. Como muy ajustadamente se le replicó, no hacerlo ahora significaría sencillamente postergarlo para más tarde. No podemos concebir la hipótesis de quedar indefinidamente sin tener relaciones diplomáticas regulares con Italia. Y, si esto es así, ¿por qué no hacer desde ahora lo que, de cualquier modo, tendrá que ser hecho algún día?

Es una actitud en la cual hemos sido precedidos por muchos países, antes que la Sociedad de las Naciones, volviendo sobre sus pasos, les diera carta blanca para hacerlo. Pero la necesidad en que nos hallamos de tomarla nos enseña la conveniencia de no volver a embarcarnos en generalizaciones aventuradas de principios americanos. Más sencillamente todavía: la necesidad de no asumir compromisos de carácter general, en la Sociedad de las Naciones o fuera de ella,

en un momento, como éste, de quiebra de todos los principios jurídicos y morales sobre los cuales se sentaba hasta ahora el edificio de la comunidad internacional.

En el Senado se recordó uno de esos principios americanos a los cuales se quiso luego dar carácter universal. El 3 de agosto de 1932, diez y nueve representantes de otras tantas repúblicas americanas, entre ellas la Argentina, formulaban una declaración sobre el litigio boliviano-paraguayo, a proposición del subsecretario de Estado norteamericano, Mr. Francis White. Decían en ella que no reconocerían arreglo territorial alguno "de esta controversia" que no fuera obtenido por medios pacíficos, ni la validez de adquisiciones territoriales obtenidas por la fuerza. Como antecedente, esta declaración tenía la que Mr. Stimson había hecho con motivo de la cuestión de Manchuria, de que los Estados Unidos no reconocerían la posesión violenta de territorios chinos. Pero, tanto en su forma como en su alcance, lo que se suscribió en Washington en 1932 era estrictamente americano. Algo perfectamente encuadrado dentro de nuestras normas jurídicas, de nuestra ética internacional. Luego, empero, con el tratado antibélico de no agresión y conciliación, firmado en Río de Janeiro en 1933, se le quiso dar un sentido universal. El artículo segundo reproduce casi textualmente la declaración del 3 de agosto, pero hablando de toda clase de arreglos territoriales. Y luego la Sociedad de las Naciones, bajo la influencia de nuestra cancillería, concluyó de dar carácter universal a aquella declaración, cuando la menciona en su resolución del 7 de julio de 1936. La resolución en la cual, al mismo tiempo que recomienda el levantamiento de las sanciones contra Italia, por su conquista de Etiopía, insiste en que permanece firmemente adicta a los principios del pacto de la Liga, concordantes, dice, con los de la declaración americana.

¿Qué se ha ganado con esta universalización de un principio sostenido en un caso concreto estrictamente continental? Entre otros países, Italia dió también su adhesión al pacto antibélico, con la salvedad de que, en lo que concernía al artículo segundo, se reservaba el derecho de determinar la fecha de su vigencia. Luego no ratificó dicha adhesión que, de cualquier modo, no la obligaba respecto a Etiopía, que no era parte en aquel tratado. Mas, con adhesión o sin ella, ese "lip service", como dirían los ingleses, no le impidió obrar, en materia colonial, de acuerdo con las tradiciones de todas las potencias que han formado imperios. Pero los pueblos de América, bien decididos a oponerse a cualquier expansión europea en esta parte del mundo, harían bien en no inmiscuirse demasiado en ciertos asuntos extraños a sus intereses.

SOURCE: LA NACION, Editorial.
June 23, 1938.
Buenos Aires.
Full translation.

THE RECOGNITION OF THE ITALIAN EMPIRE

At the time the Italo-Ethiopian conflict was a subject of discussion in the League of Nations, LA NACION pointed out, on August 6, 1935, the desirability of not interfering in European affairs - "not even to give advice." Under the headline "Antipathy of Two Worlds" it was stated that the guiding principles of American international policy can with difficulty be applied to the old world. They are our inheritance, of which we must be proud, and over which we must watch continually. They are not, however, an exportable commodity. The identity in origin of the majority of countries of this continent permitted them to establish from the beginning the principle of "uti possidetis" as a basis for the discussion of territorial disputes. An identical political organization prevailing among them made possible immediately the unanimous acceptance into their international code of certain juridical principles. Arbitration, for example, which, on the initiative of the United States and as something "entirely new", Lord Salisbury most reluctantly accepted for the adjustment of a disagreement between Great Britain and Venezuela in 1936 (sic), is a principle which, at least theoretically, no one in America questions. Nevertheless, it is easy to understand that the application and even the acceptance of such principles are difficult in the case of countries which have different traditions, great rivalries, ancestral hatreds, and often great variations between the levels of their respective civilizations.

What

What we asserted at that time deserves now to be recalled owing to the motion presented in the Senate to oppose Argentine recognition of the Italian Empire, even though the matter concerns merely the form of ceremonial salutation in the letters of the new Ambassador accredited to Rome. As was very rightly stated in reply, not to take this step now would simply mean postponing it until later. We cannot imagine the possibility of remaining indefinitely without regular diplomatic relations with Italy. And that being the case, why not do now what will have to be done in any event some other day?

This is an attitude which has already been taken by many countries before the League of Nations, retracing its steps, gave them carte blanche in this respect. But the necessity of taking this stand teaches us the advisability of not embarking upon generalizations arising from purely American principles; or still more simply: the necessity of not entering into obligations of a general nature, either within the League of Nations or outside of it, at a moment like this, when all the juridical and moral principles on which the structure of the international community rested until now have failed.

In the Senate reference was made to one of these American principles to which it was subsequently desired to give a world-wide application. On August 3, 1932, nineteen representatives of an equal number of American Republics, among them Argentina, drew up a declaration concerning the dispute between Bolivia and Paraguay at the
initiative

initiative of Mr. Francis White, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States. In it they said they would not recognize any territorial adjustment of this controversy not obtained by peaceful means, nor the validity of acquisitions of territory effected by force. This declaration had as a precedent that of Mr. Stimson with respect to the Manchurian question - according to which the United States would not recognize the seizure by force of Chinese territory. But, not only in form but also in scope, the declaration signed in Washington in 1932 was strictly American, something perfectly adjusted to our juridical principles and our international ethics. Later, however, in the Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, it was desired to give universal expression to this principle. Article II reproduces almost textually the Declaration of August 3, but makes reference to all kinds of territorial adjustments. And later the League of Nations, under the influence of our Foreign Office, gave universal scope to this declaration by mentioning it in its Resolution of July 7, 1936. This was the resolution in which it recommends terminating the sanctions against Italy for its conquest of Ethiopia, and at the same time insists that it continues to adhere to the principles of the League Covenant with which, it says, those of the American declaration are in accord.

What has been gained by making universal a principle upheld in a concrete case strictly continental in character? Italy, among other countries, also adhered to the

Anti-

Anti-War Treaty, with the reservation that she should have the right to determine the date on which it should go into effect. She did not later ratify this adherence which, in any event put her under no obligations with respect to Ethiopia which was not a party to that Treaty. Furthermore, either with or without adherence, this "lip service", as the English would say, did not prevent Italy from acting for purposes of colonization in accordance with the traditions of all the powers which have become empire builders. But the countries of America, who are firmly determined to oppose any European expansion in this part of the world, would do well not to interfere too much in certain matters foreign to their interests.

No. 91

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
Nairobi, Colony of Kenya, Africa.
June 8, 1938.

1938 JUL 5 PM 1 57

Commercial Office (A-M/C)

To

*Rome
Aden*

SUBJECT:

1-1055 GPO

Conditions in Addis Ababa.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

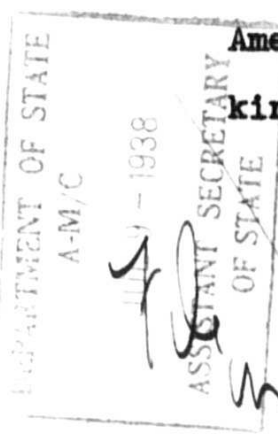
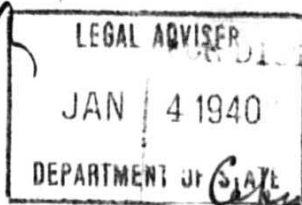
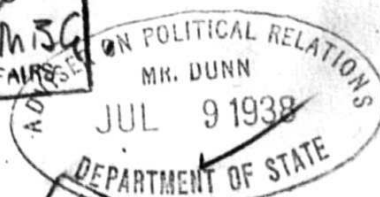
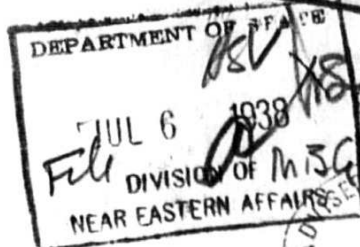
SIR:

I have the honor to quote below parts of a statement made to the local Criminal Investigation Department by Mr. Yervant Saatjian, formerly a clerk in the American Mission at Addis Ababa. The statement was kindly loaned me by the chief of the Department.

"-----My reasons for leaving Ehtiopia now are:-

- (a) Under the present regime I am not safe as a foreigner and I want to settle in a British Colony and eventually become a naturalised British Subject. It is not that I fear for my life, but the system reigning in Ethiopia is not to my advantage
- (b) The strict control of finance, money being prohibited from being taken out of the country or exchange with foreign currency.

(c)



FILED

JUL 25 1938

865D.01/526

N/C

- (c) Impossibility of doing any import business with any country other than Italy.
- (d) Inability to obtain a licence to carry on business in a satisfactory manner

865d. 4016
Many Armenians and other foreign Nationals are leaving Ethiopia as things are being made awkward for them which amounts to quiet persecution.

Before leaving I obtained a visa for Syria and return from the Italian Authorities and afterwards got the visa for Kenya from the British Consul at Addis Ababa. Had I have asked for a visa to Kenya from the Italians in the first place it would not have been granted.

I have travelled very little in Ethiopia having only once gone to Djibuti.

The French still have a controlling interest in the Railway and before the Italian occupation there was talk of extending it to Jimma, this has not materialised and I have heard nothing recently about it.

90 per cent of the goods on sale in Addis Ababa are of Italian origin with the exception of heavy machinery which is German.

Commodities are not generally expensive

pensive although foodstuff is scarce.

8651.154
The Addis Ababa - Massawa Road is used a great deal for transport as the Railway is not sufficient, but the transports are often attacked by bandits and when this happens there is a shortage of food and other goods in Addis Ababa. The road is not properly guarded by armed forces.

The road from Addis Ababa to Jimma is fairly safe as this runs through the country occupied by the Gullehs and Guragehs who are fairly peaceful people.

CIVIL AIR SERVICE.

There is a twice weekly service to Jimma, a daily service to Djibuti with the exception of Saturdays, a twice weekly service to Mogadischio and a service four times weekly to Asmara Diredowa.

Jimma is an important agricultural centre.

Sometime ago there was talk of Germans coming to Ethiopia but no indication of the number expected was given and nothing further has been said

recently

recently regarding them.

I heard about six weeks ago that the Germans who have resided in Ethiopia are leaving and a large number of them have left already. Business men are discouraged as the Government are monopolising all the trade.

In March 1938 about 80,000 troops were sent to beat back the bandits from the Addis Ababa Massawa Road, about half of these were Italians.

There are about 20,000 Italian residents in Addis Ababa of whom about 5,000 are women. The Militia which is raised from the civil population have never to my knowledge been used to quell disturbances.

There is a shortage of houses and foodstuffs and many Italian families are living in native huts.

In my opinion the majority of Italians are not happy in Ethiopia, they are there under forced Immigration, the work of road making is very hard and everything being under strict Government control does not improve their lot. Everyone is suspected and one does not know

who

who is a secret agent. The newspaper is well censored.

Most of the leading Ethiopians have left the country, which is now very poor, the production is low which is only to be expected, but would develop well agriculturally in time if worked properly.

The Italian lira is not popular, the native preferring the silver "thelas"; the exchange is 15 lira to one thela.

It has been general talk among the Italians in Addis Ababa that if there is a war between Italy and England they would march through into Kenya, nothing has been said regarding this recently and no indication of the points at which they would cross the border was given.

The economic position is only being maintained by the very low living conditions among the Italians themselves.

The Police Force consists of Italians and native Carbiniers which number

about

about 8,000 in all in Addis Ababa and they concentrate chiefly on the prevention of the holding of meetings.

Addis Ababa is surrounded by 32 fortresses linked up by barbed wire and there are places of exit and entry near the fortresses themselves. No person can leave or enter without a passport or an identity card. The fortresses are armed chiefly with machine guns. There are about twenty small tanks in Addis Ababa but there are no artillery actually in the place, but there are artillery in the outer defences in the hills which surround the town.

There is at present only one aerodrome in Addis Ababa which is used by the Civil & Military Authorities.

Immigration of foreigners is not encouraged in Ethiopia.

Many of the Italians in Addis Ababa are anti-British the main reason being that they require space for expansion and they are of the opinion

that

that the British Empire is the only place that they can get anything from as they have plenty at their command. This attitude has more or less been instilled into them and does not possibly represent their true feelings.

The Deisel 6 and 7 ton trucks are the Italians chief unit of road transport".

The only part of the report omitted is the first part, which is purely autobiographical, reviewing Mr. Saatjian's life and activities for the local police records.

Respectfully yours,



E. Talbot Smith,
American Consul.

800
ETS/GH

Original and four copies
to Department of State.

Central File: Decimal File 865D.01, Internal Affairs Of States, Italian East Africa, Government. Mandates, Recognition., June 12, 1937 - November 15, 1939. June 12, 1937 - November 15, 1939. MS European Colonialism in the Early 20th Century. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/FSC5109729978/FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 18 June 2025.